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The Isle of Bute in the
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The Isle of Bute in the Olden Time

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, AND PLANS

BY

JAMES KING HEWISON, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.)

MINISTER OF ROTHESAY

EDITOR OF 'CERTAIN TRACTATES BY NINIAN WINZET'

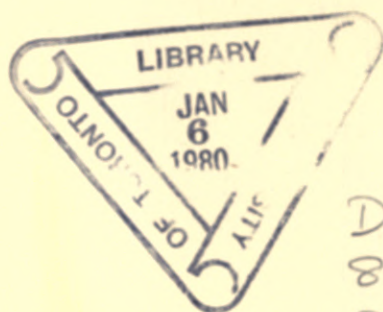
VOL. I.

CELTIC
SAINTS



AND
HEROES

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TO

JOHN

MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.

P R E F A C E.

THIS work embodies the results of some studies of the history of the Isle of Bute, suggested to me here by visible relics of the olden time. It is the product of the few leisure hours which could be gathered up for several years out of a busy clerical life. As a labour of love it has been executed with much difficulty, since so important a subject demanded much research among authorities, manuscript and printed, in the National Record Offices and great libraries, access to which is not easy to students in the country, who have a limited time at their disposal to ransack rare and expensive works.

In writing I have kept in view the purpose of producing a readable book, as much as possible free from technical phraseology, so that the ordinary reader may not be wearied with multitudinous details which the pure antiquary considers imperative; and I have en-

deavoured to strike the golden mean without defrauding the subject of its primary demand for definite accuracy.

It will have fulfilled my design if it causes those who are privileged to breathe the fragrant air of Bute to take a protective interest in those fascinating fragments preserved here, and if it draws upon these relics the attention of others who love antiquities.

Bute has already been fortunate in having local historians who have made good use of the scanty materials available for the more modern epochs of history. Their labours will be more fitly acknowledged, and a bibliography of their works given, in the second volume. Recent research, however, has opened up richer treasure-houses to the chronicler, and invested the decaying memorials of eld with a new romantic interest.

Merit I venture to claim for this new work in respect of the exquisite architectural illustrations of St Blaas's Church prepared by Mr William Galloway, architect, who has laid me under deepest obligation by permitting reduced copies to be taken of his drawings of that interesting edifice, and of the similarly fine work of Mr James Walker, architect, Paisley. I have to thank the Society of Antiquaries of Scot-

land for the use of several engravings of objects found in Bute. The minor illustrations have been prepared from drawings by my own pen.

I have also to acknowledge obligations to the Rev. J. B. Johnstone, B.D., Falkirk, author of 'Place-Names of Scotland'; the Rev. John Dewar, B.D., Kilmartin; and the Rev. D. Dewar, Applecross, who have kindly given me valuable aid in reference to the "Appendix on Place-Names," for which, as it stands, I am entirely responsible: as well as to Mr James Kay, forester, Bute; the Rev. John Saunders, B.D., Kingarth; and the Rev. Peter Dewar, M.A., North Bute, who have kindly assisted me in my inquiries.

The second volume will contain chapters on the Homes and Haunts of the Stewarts, the Roman and Reformed Churches, the Burgh of Rothesay, the Brandanes, the Barons of Bute, and the House of Stuart, and will be illustrated.

J. KING HEWISON.

THE MANSE, ROTHESAY, *September* 1893.

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THE ISLE OF BUTE IN THE OLDEN TIME.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

"The wandering mariner, whose eye explores
The wealthiest isles, the most enchanting shores,
Views not a realm so bountiful and fair,
Nor breathes the spirit of a purer air."

—MONTGOMERY.



O obtain material from which may be formed a historical survey of the Isle of Bute, in that distant epoch when it first came under the influences of Christian civilisation, it is necessary to press into our service not merely the data of the indispensable chronicler, but also lingering folk-lore, now attenuated to the vanishing-point; the evidence of ruined structures which confess from their moss-grown faces their hoary antiquity; the testimony to growing intelligence from the relics of industrial arts; and such primitive ideas having historic sig-

nificance as may be found embalmed in the names of places and of individuals, and in customs dead or dying. These relics are monumental. The synthetic method of reuniting these broken fragments in order to form a symmetrical work which, like a symbol, may represent in miniature the results of the successive streams of life which once pulsated in the individuals, tribes, and nation of Alban, must not be finally applied until, after accurate scrutiny, these fragile survivals prove so homogeneous as naturally to fuse into a unity. This is imperative where, as in the case of Bute, historic record is scanty, local legend is sorely detrited, and the linguistic impressions, from the moulds in which the early races cast their thoughts, have been as rudely broken by foreign invaders as their homes and temples by ruthless iconoclasts. Though delicate its work, Archæology, like every other exact science, is not now content to see its peculiar field only garnished with gossamers, which no explorer's foot dare break, nor its dear stones left under a mantle of moss to be scorned into oblivion. Its tool is no hammer to break, but the light hand whose magnetism subtly picks from out the rust of ages an enduring body,—in lack only of the reinspiration of its departed spirit. As that boon companion of the Celtic missionary—the *Anmchara*, or soul-friend—carried in his breast the other's confidences, so must the student of Eld bear in himself the genii of his silent teachers of the mountain and the muirland, so that when, in his love, he touches their

"Worn faces that look deaf and blind,
Like tragic marks of stone,"

they may utter the weird tale of a wondrous past to him.

Bute has had a romantic history, which is largely accounted

for by its geographical and ethnographical position. By its situation in the Firth of Clyde it was on the highway of the sea-going nomads and nations on their northerly march of conquest through Caledonia; and being no mean "coign of vantage," in course of time the isle became a debatable land among the roving races. The Isle of Bute lies between the county of Ayr on the east and the county of Argyle on the north and west; is $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and varies in breadth from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles. It contains (without Inchmarnock, 675.054 acres) 31,161.421 acres, or over 49 square miles (North Bute Parish, with Inchmarnock, 15,546.012 acres; Rothesay, 6,624.575; Kingarth, 9,665.888). Of the aboriginal inhabitants few traces remain; and, indeed, were it not for the references to the early Church in the Irish annals of the eleventh century, there would be no clear historical record as to its separate existence till the time of the later Norse invasions. Situated between the domain of conquering Romans and that of receding Caledonians, then between the Brythons of Strathclyde and their Goidelic opponents in the west, between these Brythons and the main body of the Dalriadic Scots who swarmed out of Erin in the fifth century, between these Scots and the redescending Picts of North Caledonia at one time, and piratical Norsemen or Angles at another, Bute seems to have been turned into a blood-stained arena for warfare.

It is not to be wondered at that in the perplexing mazes of Western geography Ptolemy and other early navigators either omitted Bute or confounded its identity. Ireland and its neighbouring isles were definitely known, and seem to have been a source of interest on account of the alleged barbarity of the inhabitants. Strabo informs us that, according to

travellers, they had then an easy method of Home Rule in Erin by devouring their fathers before assuming paternal responsibilities.¹

Ptolemy (A.D. 140), in his description of Britain, attaches five islands, called "*The Eboudai*" (Ἐβουδαί), to the map of Ireland (Ἰουερπρία), north of that country and between the Hibernian Sea and the Deucaledonian Ocean.² He designates them *Ebouda*, *Ebouda*, *Hrikina*, *Maleos*, *Epidiou*. *Maleos* lies north of the others, which are all placed on the same degree of latitude. Another island, called *Monaoida*, is placed south of these. Dr W. F. Skene, after a careful collation of texts, reads them—*Maleus*, *Ebuda*, *Ebuda*, *Engaricenna*, *Epidium*, and *Monarina*, and states his opinion that the two *Ebudai* were probably *Isla* and *Jura*, *Scarba* was *Engaricenna*,³ *Lismore* was *Epidium*, *Arran* was *Monarina*, corresponding to the group in the Irish documents, "*Ara, Ile, Rachra acus innsi orcheana*,"—that is, *Arran*, *Isla*, *Rachra*, and the other islands.³ Dr Reeves identifies the *Hrikina* (Ῥικίνα) of Ptolemy with *Rathlin*—the *Ricnea* of Pliny and *Rechrain* of Tighernac.⁴

Pliny (23-79 A.D.) enumerates among the British Isles "the Hæbudes, thirty in number; and between Hibernia and Britannia the islands of *Mona*, *Monapia*, *Ricina*, *Vectis*, *Limnus*, *Andros*."⁵

It is possible that *Engaricenna* was meant for *Bute*, and that it is a form of a simple name—such as *Ngari* or *Gari*,

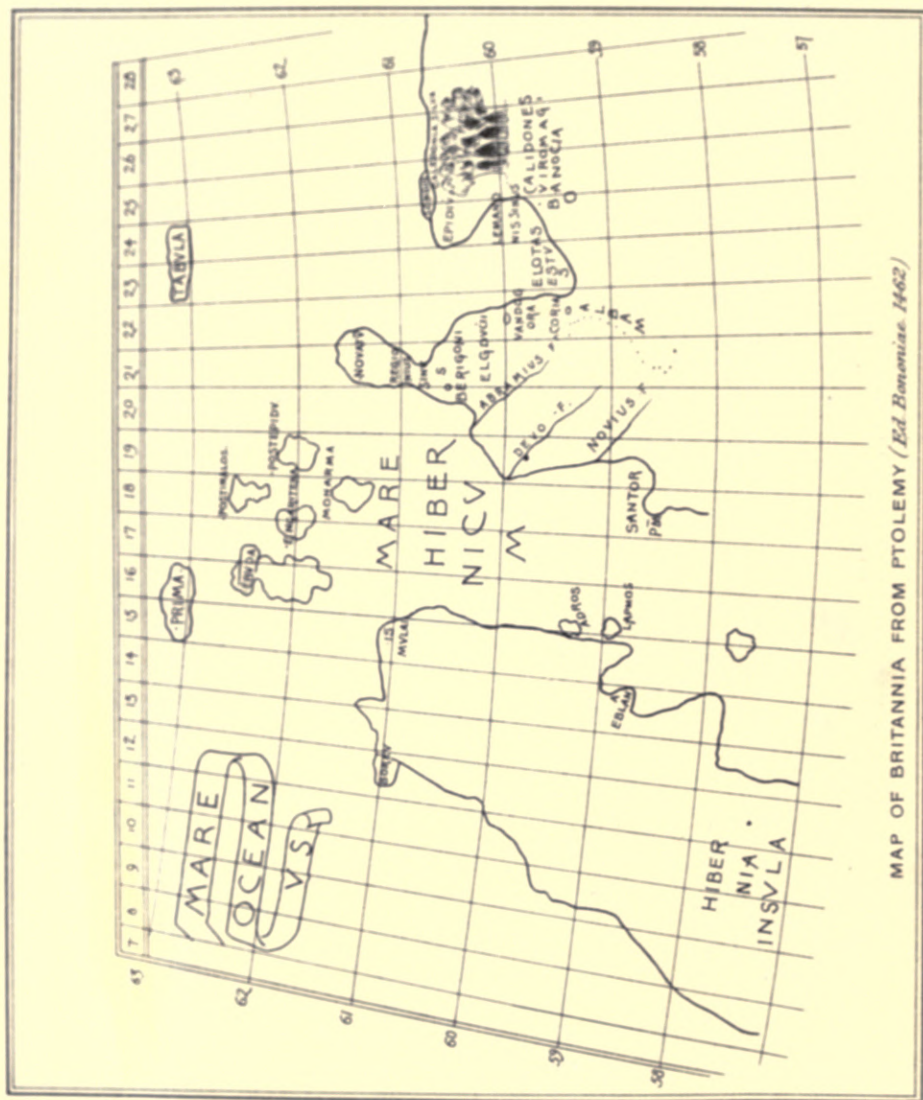
¹ Strabo, i. bk. iv., ch. v. § 4, p. 299. Bohn.

² 'Claudii Ptolemæi Geographiæ.' Ed. Wilberg, Essendix, 1838, p. 103.

³ 'Celtic Scotland,' Skene, vol. i. p. 68. Edin., 1886.

⁴ 'Eccles. Antiq. Down,' p. 288. Dublin, 1847.

⁵ 'Nat. Hist.,' bk. iv., ch. xxx., vol. i. p. 351. Bohn, 1887.



which, signifying a mountain (*ghari*, *gherry*, Sanscrit), is common from the Himalayas to the Congo—still retained in a corrupted form in Kingarth. In the Slavonic tongue *gora* is a mountain. And as in the Teutonic language *burg*, a burgh, is related to *berg*, a mountain, so in Russ the word for a burgh is *gorod* (Novgorod, new town), and in Polish *grad*.

I have also examined various editions of Ptolemy, and found divergences of readings. A map of Britannia, from Ptolemy, published in Bonn in 1462, gives *Postmalos*, to the south of which are *Ebuda*, *Engaritena*, and *Postepidu*, and beneath these *Monarma*.¹ Any one conversant with the difficulties of transcribing ancient manuscripts knows how easily a writer to dictation transposes, omits, or repeats letters, syllables, or even phrases, and how even two words are slid together to form one. *Engaricenna* has the appearance of an undesigned combination, as I shall try to show.

The earliest written reference to Bute is found in 'The Annals of Tighernac' of Cloinmacnois, who died in the year 1088, where, among other events connected with Ireland and its Dalriadic colony, the deaths of "Daniel, Bishop of *Cindgaradh*" and "John, Bishop of *Cindgalarath*," are chronicled under the years 660 and 689 A.D. 'The Annals of Ulster,' dating from 1498, refer also to these and other abbots of Cinngarad, as is shown in a succeeding chapter.² There can be no doubt that the monastic establishment of Kingarth—one of the two parishes of Bute—is the abbacy meant.

The place-name has usually been associated with the Gaelic words *Ceann-garbh*, signifying "the rough headland,"

¹ Nordenskiöld's 'Facsimile Atlas,' Stockholm, 1889.

² Chap. xi. 'Chron. Picts,' pp. 71, 73, 76, &c. Ed. Skene, 1867.

a designation truly descriptive of the southern shore of Bute, now called Garroch Head, part of which is known in Gaelic as *Roinn-clumhach*, the feathered point. But the body of the word *Cind-garadh* is identical with the Celtic term for an enclosed place, *gairadh*, *garrdh*, *garrd* (Gaelic, *gàradh*, a dyke), a word which passes into the Teutonic *garth*¹ and the English *garden*. *Cind* or *Cinn* is the Gaelic *ceann*, head or chief. So *Cind-garadh* signifies the head or headland enclosure,—or the eminence of the enclosure,—as Kennavara, the highest site of Tiree, is the *Ceann-na-mara*, “the eminence of the sea.” I have afterwards to point out that this headland was enclosed with a wall or sanctuary boundary from sea to sea by St Blaen, so as to form the church’s “garth”; but there may also have existed near at hand a fortified enclosure—now the vitrified fort of Dunagoil (fort of the strangers)—before St Blaen’s day.

When the Irish strangers (Goill) held this enclosure, *rath* (Goidelic for earth-fort), it is easy to see how the place-name was turned into *Cind-gala-rath*. The old parish school of Kingarth stood on a field called Buttgarry, near Kilchattan church, two miles from St Blaen’s Church. Old Gaelic people in Bute still call Kingarth *Kennagairy*. Thus, it is possible the primitive word sounded to the Greek sailors’ ears Ngari or Engari, and on being repeated assumed the form of *Engarikenna*, or, on being written, was conjoined with the name of the island of *Canna*, or the other *Rikina*.

In a ‘Description of Britain,’ composed in Latin, and dating from the twelfth century, there is enumerated twice among

¹ Cf. “Gwrth Bryneich,” Bernicia’s thraldom = Bamborough Castle. St Patrick founded at Huarangaradh a church which was then called Kill-garadh (Oran, Roscommon).

other isles in Scotland one bearing the name of *Gurth*: "Albania tota, que modo Scocia vocatur, et Morouia, et omnes insule occidentales oceani usque ad Norwegiam et usque Daciam, scilicet, Kathenessia, Orkaneya, Enchegal, et Man et Ordas, et *Gurth*, et cetera insule occidentales oceani," &c.¹ Dr Skene in his History says: "Ordas and Gurth are probably intended for Lewis and Skye."² In 1887 I ventured, however, to draw the attention of this distinguished Celtic scholar to my theory that *Gurth* was no other than Kingarth or Bute, and received the following reply: "The names of Ordas and Gurth occur twice in the tract you refer to. First, as 'Ordasiman, Gurth;' second, as 'Man et Ordas et Gurth.' I take 'Ordasiman' to be simply a misreading for 'Ordas et Man,' so that the two are substantially the same. I have no doubt, looking to the mistaken forms of some of the other names, that Ordas and Gurth are corrupted readings of names a little different; but looking to their being conjoined with Man, and distinguished from Inchegall—a name which embraced all the Western Isles, which the Norwegians had occupied—I think the probability is that Arran and Bute are meant. . . . The oldest form of Kingarth is Cinn-garadh, and it is repeatedly mentioned in this form in the Irish annals. Garadh in old Irish is any enclosed place, and passes readily into Gurth. This I believe to be the true meaning of the name, and to suppose that the second syllable is 'garbh,' rough, I consider quite inadmissible." In the seventeenth century Ninian Stewart granted a tack of the teinds of *Inchgarth* (united to Rothesay) to Stuart of Askeoge.³

¹ 'Chron. Picts,' pp. 153, 154.

² 'Celtic Scot.,' vol. i. p. 396.

³ Scott's 'Fasti,' vol. v. p. 29.

By this is probably meant Inchmarnock or "The Inch," as it is commonly spoken of, whose church was probably served from the Garth of St Blaen—the original *parochia*, parish, in Bute. Not far from St Blaen's Church, and within its "garth," stands the old mansion of Garrachty (Garadh-tigh), in medieval times known as Garach.¹ One of the hills above it is called the "*Barr*" or head.

I imagine, then, that the parish got its descriptive name from this Barr or hill (*gar*), probably then the fortress on the headland, which afterwards was supplanted by Dunagoil; and the name, having lost its original meaning, became associated with the church enclosure. An instance of a similar transformation of a word is found in Kells, the seat of the ancient monastery in the parish of the same name in County Meath. Its early Irish name was *Ceanannsa*, *Cenannus*, which means head-abode. In Columba's time its site was called "Dun-chuile-sibrinne," the royal *dun* of Diarmait Mac Cerbhaill. Columba marked off and blessed the site of the town as Blaen set off Kingarth. The next form of the name was *Cean-lios* (*lios*, Irish for a stone fort), then *Kenlis*, and finally *Kells*. Hence Baron *Kenlis* of the British peerage is known as *Headfort* in the Irish peerage.²

Several centuries elapse before the isle is designated Bute or Rothesay. Early writers considered Rothisay the older name of the isle. John of Fordun, whose local knowledge is generally so very accurate as to suggest that he had personally visited the Western Isles, thus refers to the Isles of Albion: "But the first leader of those who inhabited them,

¹ 'Excheq. Rolls,' vol. v. p. 79.

² Adamnan's 'Columba,' ed. Reeves, *Introd.*, p. li.

Ethachius Rothay, great-grandson of the aforesaid Simon Brec, by the interpretation of his name gave a name to the island of Rothisay, and it bore this name indeed for the space of no little time, until, when the faith of our Saviour had been diffused through all the ends of the earth and the islands which are afar off, Saint Brandan constructed thereon a booth, in our idiom, *bothe*—that is, a cell—whence thenceforth and until our times it has been held to have two names, for it is by the natives sometimes called Rothisay—*i.e.*, the isle of Rothay—as also sometimes the Isle of Bothe.”¹ In enumerating the Scottish isles, cut off from the Orkneys, the same writer mentions “the isle of Arane, where there are two royal castles, Brethwyk and Lochransay; the isle of Helantinsaysche (Lamlash); the isle of Rothysay or Bothe, and there a castle, royal, fair, and impregnable; the isle of Inchmernok, and there a cell of monks.”² ‘The Chronicle of the Scots’ (1482-1530) similarly declares: “Alsua ye first yat comme of Mare Scotland in ye lesse yat now is ouris be ye grace of God was callit Rathus Rothia, eftir quhomm is callit ye Ile and ye Castell of Rothissaye, quhilk now is callit Bute eftir Saynte Brandan.”³ ‘The Metrical Chronicle,’ written by William Stewart, rector of Quodquen in 1530, which is not, strictly speaking, a translation of Boece, but is founded on the ‘Chronicon Scotorum,’ in reference to the Irish king Rothus has:—

“Syne callit it to name B. . . .
The Yle of Bute, as my Author [say]
Efter his name gart call it Ro[thissay].”⁴

¹ ‘Chronica Gentis Scotorum,’ lib. i. cap. 28 (vol. i. p. 24, Skene’s ed.)

² Ibid., lib. ii. cap. x. (vol. i. p. 43, Skene.)

³ ‘Chron. Picts and Scots,’ p. 380.

⁴ ‘The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland,’ vol i. p. 27. London, 1858.

In John Major's time (+1550) the isle went under both names.¹ Holinshed (+1580), following the common romance, designates "Rothesay, the son of Notafilus," as the mythical pre-Christian hero, who "named that isle which he first began to possess Rothesay, after his own name."² There was an interesting variant in the form *Buthania*: "*Buthania quæ Rothsay prius vocata*," apparently preserving a trace of a time when Bute was governed by a thane.³

But both *Rothesay* and *Bute* are names apparently of a Norse origin, Bute being the first mentioned in Norse records. It has been attempted to trace *Bute* to a Celtic root—*biadh*, food (Old Irish *biad*, Greek *βίωτος*); but there is no mention of this "island of food," in historical times, to corroborate this good description of its fertility. Dr John Macpherson thus refers to the probability of Bute being Epidium: "Camden thinks that the ancient *Epidium* is the same with Ila; *Maleos*, Mull; the *Western Ebuda*, Lewis; and the *Eastern Ebuda*, Sky. But if *Ricina* is the same with Arran, it is far from being improbable that *Epidium* is the island of *Bute*, which lies near it: *Ey-Bhoid*—that is, the Isle of Bute, in the Gaelic language—being much more nearly related to *Epidium* in its sound than Ila. I have no objections to Camden's opinion with regard to *Maleos* and the larger *Ebude*. . . . It would therefore be equally proper with Camden's etymon to call them *Ey-budh* in the British or *Ey-bhoid* in the Gaelic—that is, the *islands of corn*, or metaphorically the *Isles of Food*. The truth is, neither Camden or I can give any satisfactory

¹ 'Greater Britain,' p. 37. S. H. S. ed., 1892.

² Holinshed, 'Chron. of England,' &c., p. 5. London, 1577.

³ 'Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie,' Turnbull, p. 5.

etymon of the *Ebudes*.”¹ In Johnston's ‘Place Names of Scotland’ (p. 48) we find: “Bute. Norse Chron., c. 1093, Bot; 1204, Bote; 1292, Boot; in G. Boite. Some think G. *bot*, the hut or bothy (of St Brendan); but Dr M'Lauchlan says (Hist., p. 316) fr. Bæte of Bute, son of Kenneth III., who lived early in eleventh century.” In Blain's ‘History of Bute’ (pp. 6, 7), reference is made to *Boot* or *Bote*, signifying compensation, or an equivalent, and to *Bute* or *Beute*, signifying spoil, as possible roots for the name. An analysis of the oldest forms of the word may elucidate its meaning. Its present designation in Gaelic is *Bòid* or *Bòit* (f.) One of the headlands is known as Rhubodach (*Rudha*, a point; *Bòideach* or *Bòiteach*, of Bute). *Rothesay* is also called in the same language *Baile' Bhoid* or *Mhoid*. How long these Gaelic names have existed cannot be determined, since it is only in modern times they appear in written form. And the pronunciation of the genitive forms of two distinct words being identical, it is thus difficult to settle whether the name was derived from *bòid*, a vow, votive-offering, oath, or from *mòd*, *mòid*, the Court of Justice or Mote, held in Rothesay; or again from a simple root *Bot*, of foreign origin, with a meaning of its own. In this last form it is found in the Islandic Sagas recounting the exploits of the Northmen in the West.

To the Vikings the isle had the significant appellation of *Bót*, *Bótar* (probably a plural form), *Boot*, *Boet*. Among the documents seemingly taken by King Edward I. of England from the King of Scots' Treasury at Edinburgh,

¹ ‘Crit. Dissert. on the Origin, &c., of the Ancient Caledonians,’ pp. 235-240. London, 1768.

and *visited* in 1282, was one marked "A Charter of the King of Norway concerning the Isle of Bot and certain others conceded to the King of Man."¹ Sturla (1214-1284), the Norse historian of Haco, in the Saga giving an account of the assault of the Norwegian fleet on a castle in Bute, *Botar* ("ok svá inn til Bótar"),²—'The Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland, 1263,' mentions Bute, *Bot, Botar*, seven times, and as a substantive thus: "Þa gerdi hann fim skip til Botar"—*i.e.*, he (Haco) also ordered five ships for Bute.³ In the charter of Alan the Steward disponing Kingarth church and lands to Paisley Priory in 1204, the isle is called *Bote*; and in the Register of the House it reappears as *Buit* and *Buyt*—"Ferchardo de Buit," "Nigil de Buyt."⁴ In a map of 1300, republished by the Ordnance Surveyors, *Bote* is marked. Baliol included the isle in the sheriffdom of Kintyre in 1292 as *Boot* (Act Parl., i., p. 44). In Latin letters sent to Edward I. in 1301, *Buth* and *Bwte*

¹ 'Robertson's Index,' p. xxiii: "Charta regis Norwagiæ super insula de Bot et quibuscum aliis concessis regi Manniæ."

² 'Islandic Sagas,' vol. ii. p. 147. The references to Bute in the 'Islandic Sagas' are these:—

"Ok svá inn til Bótar. Ok þar sátu Skotar í Kastölum; ok var stívarðr fyrir, einn af Skotum."—'Hakonar Saga,' ch. 167 (421). 'Isl. Sagas,' vol. ii. p. 147. Rolls Series. Edit. by Gudbrand Vigfusson, M.A. London, 1887.

"Hann görði fimtán skip til Botar."—*Ibid.*, chap. 320, p. 335.

"Þeir skyldu fara til Botar," &c.—*Ibid.*, ch. 321, p. 338.

"Hann þóttisk ætt-borinn til Bótar."—*Ibid.*

"Bót af bang-njótum."—*Ibid.*

"Þeir allir saman Norðmenn, er þa vóru í Bót."—*Ibid.*, p. 339.

"Var þat Bót, ok Herrey, ok Kumreyjar."—*Ibid.*, ch. 322, p. 340.

"Þá lét konungr flytja lík Ívars hólmis inn til Bótar ok var hann þar jarðað."—*Ibid.*, ch. 326, p. 349. 'Anecdotes of Olave,' &c., by the Rev. James Johnstone, p. 14: 'Antiq. Celto-Norman,' &c., p. 31, ed. 1786.

³ Johnstone's edit., 1782, p. 48.

⁴ 'Reg. Mon. de Passelet,' p. 15, pp. 127, 128.

are mentioned. The Exchequer Rolls of 1329 have *Boyet* and *Boet*. It appears in 1375 as *Bute*; in 1501, *Butt*. The Martyrology of Aberdeen gives *Boit* and *Bute*; other Latin writers *Buta*, *Botha*, *Buthania*. Dean Monro, 1597, *Butt*; MS. Description of Scotland, 1580, *Boyd*. George Buchanan, in his 'History of Scotland,' 1582, gives in connection with *Boot* this interesting fact: "It hath but one town in it, bearing the name of the island; and in it an old castle called Rothsey." Blaeu's Atlas, 1662, has *Boot* and *Buthe*. In the vernacular of Ayrshire Bute is known as *Bit*; and an expression of a Lowlander's contempt for a pure Celt was "a rank Hielan'man frae the isle o' Bit." This was perhaps a reminiscence of the days when the Scots harried Strathclyde.

The name Bót may be fitly associated with the beacons raised by the northmen in time of war. Snorre the historian (1178-1241) points out that Haco had stringent laws regarding beacons, by means of which he was able to flash messages over his kingdom in seven days. In the Laws of Magnus, King of Norway, a chapter is found dealing with the "Fire-watch"—"Um vita-vaurd," wherein authority is given to the royal procurators to compel the bondsmen to raise the watch-tower, gather the fuel, and light the beacon on sighting the foe, under severe penalties.¹ Olaus Verelius, in his 'History of Gotric and Hrolf,' Kings of Westro-Gotia, in explaining the fire-watch, observes: "*Vitar* are piles of dry wood which are lit on maritime rocks for the purpose of announcing the approach of enemies; they are also called *bætar*

¹ 'Magnus Konongs Laga-Bæters Gula-things-Lang,' Harviæ, 1817, p. 85; quoted 'Archæo. Scot.,' vol. iv. p. 171.

et vard bætar."¹ In the same author's 'Index of the Scytho-Scandinavian Language,' we find the entries: "Böta, eld Tända up eld. Ignem accendens Troj. S.;" also, "Vard, wärd, wacht, excubiæ, custodia, vigilia. Byaward, Strandavard, botaward, excubiæ circa pagos, in litore, in promontoriis ad strues lignum incendendos visa classe hostili," &c.² That is to say, *Böta* are *lights*, and *Botaward* is the *fire-watch at the beacon on the maritime rock*, when a hostile fleet is in view.

In the Suio-Gothic glossary of John Ihre the word is fully explained, and is no other than the old English word *bote*, a live fagot, which the English *beet*—to beet a flame—is connected with.³

No finer example of a beacon-rock or pharos could be found than that on the south-west coast of Bute called Dunagoil, the fort of the strangers, which, when fired, was visible to many forts on Bute, in the neighbouring isles, and on the mainland; and which, besides, is vitrified by the action of fire. It may have given Bute its *second* name of "The Beacon" in the olden time.

Rothsay, as a place-name, is apparently Norse. The ter-

¹ 'Hist. Gotrici et Hrolfii,' Upsala, 1664, quoted 'Archæo. Scot.,' vol. iv.: "Vitar sunt aridorum lignorum strues quæ in maritimis scopulis incenduntur ad significandum hostium adventum; vocantur etiam *bætar* et *vard-bætar*."

² 'Index. Ling. Vet. Scytho-Scandicæ sive Gothicæ,' &c., ed. 1691.

³ 'Glossarium Suio-Gothicum auctore Iohanne Ihre,' Upsaliæ, MDCCLXIX., vol. i. pp. 254, 255. "Böta, accendere ignem. Alexander bōd et bāl oppbōta. Hist., Alex. M. Rhythmica. Alex. jussit pyram accendi. Belg., *l'vier baten*; A.S., *betan*; Angl., *beati*; Galli olim *bouter* dixere unde *boutefeu*; Ital., *buttafuoco*, nobis *fyrbōtare* qui ignem accendit, metaphorice qui discordias ferit. Ostro-botmensibus alias *bote* montem significat nescio, an phari montibus impositi denominationi occasione dederint." The 'New English Dictionary' defines *bote* as "some kind of tool"!

mination of the word, "ay or "ey," signifying, in Norse, an island of the second magnitude (*ey, a, oe, ay*), is common in the names of the Western Isles—as, for example, Cumbræ, Sanday, Molasey (Holy Isle, *i.e.*, Lamlash), Herrey (Arran), Islay, Dyrey (Tiree). As before stated, Bute and Rothesay were synonyms. In 1594 Dean Monro mentions "the round castle of Buitt, called Rosay of the Auld."¹ During the Norse invasions the castle does not appear to have had any designation, and is simply referred to as a "castle" (*kastölum*) in Bótar.² Consequently we may surmise that the name was given subsequent to the raids of the Vikings and the invasion of Haco, else so important a hold would be named in so full a work as Sturla's contemporary 'Saga of King Haco,' in which there are seven references to Bót and Bótar. In the 'Chronicle of Man' *Rothersay* appears. In 1295 the contracted form *Rothir* is met; later, 1283-1303, come *Rothyrsay*, *Rothirsai*, followed by *Rothesey* and *Rothesai* (1404). In 1367 the "Castrum de Raythysay" is mentioned. From 1397 downward "*Rosay*" is the vernacular form. Wyntoun has Rosay. The 'Metrical Chronicle' refers to "the young prince of Rosay." Martin (1703) takes a note of *Rosa*.³

In the genealogical tree which the flattering medieval chroniclers presented to the proud Scottish kings when the independence of their realm was called in question by "the auld enemy," among other nebulous monarchs appears Rothir, Rether, or Rothrir—a descendant of Symon Brek; and to some such great hero the founding of Rothesay, on Rother's Isle, was attributed. Martin says, "The people here have a

¹ See Appendix.

² "Hakonar Saga," 'Islandic Sagas,' vol. ii. p. 147. London, 1887.

³ See Appendix.

tradition that this fort was built by King Rosa, who is said to have come to this isle before King Fergus the first."¹ *Róðr* is the name of one of the sea-kings found in the Norse 'Rhymed Glossaries.' But it is to be taken into consideration that the Butemen formerly preferred to call their burgh "Baile-a-mhoid" instead of Rothesay, as Dr Maclea pointed out a century ago: "The etymology of Rothesay is not fully ascertained. Some suppose it Danish. It is of Gaelic origin; the most natural and probable etymology of it is *Riogh suidhe*—that is, the king's seat, perhaps from there being an old castle in it—the castle of Rothesay, sometimes the residence of certain of the kings of Scotland. By those who speak the Gaelic language the parish is always called *Cilla bhruic*, or *Sgìreachd Bhruic*,—that is, St Broke's parish. And the town of Rothesay is called *Bailea Mhoide*, or the town where the court of justice is held. The island of Bute is itself called in that language *Oilean a' mhoide*, or the island where the court of justice sits."²

In 'The New Statistical Account,' Dr Maclea's successor, the Rev. Robert Craig, while ignorantly declaring that "Cilla Bhruic" "is no better than a nickname," derives Rothesay from *Roth-suidhe*, a "circular seat," which, he thinks, is a reference to the round artificial mounds on which the law courts—Laws or Motes—were held.³

Rothesay Castle is a round fortress, and, as suggested in Mackinlay's history of the castle, may have been founded on a primitive Irish fort or *rath*, from which it took its name. "Rothes may just be a corruption of G. *rath*, a fort."⁴ It is

¹ See Appendix.

² 'Stat. Acc.,' vol. i. p. 301. 1791.

³ 'New Stat. Acc.,' p. 95. 1841.

⁴ Johnston, 'Place Names of Scotland,' p. 212.

a significant coincidence that the diameter of this circular fort is 140 feet, and that is said to have been the measure given by an angel to St Patrick for the cashels or outer walls he erected round his chapels.¹ But there are many place-names of the same build and feature originating out of different ideas. *Rhos* or *Ros* in Cymro-Celtic signifies a moor, as *Rhoscollen*, the meadow of hazels; *Rhos-du*, the black moor. In the Cornwall dialect *Ros* signifies a valley; *Rosvean*, a little valley; *Roskilly*, a wooded valley. *Ros* in Goidelic signifies a promontory or isthmus—*e.g.*, Rosscastle, Rossbegh, the birchen peninsula. It is noteworthy that the lands of Rossy lie close to the island of Saint Braoch (Brioc) in the South Esk near Montrose, while the lands nearest St Brioc's Church in Rothesay are designated Rosland. The mainland of Orkney is called Hrossey (horse-isle). *Rothy* is a common prefix to place-names in Scotland, as, for example, Rothy-brisbane, Rothy-norman, Rothie-may, &c.; Rothus-holm (Orkney). Aberdeen has its Rother's-toun. *Rudri* (Latin, *Rothericus*), was a very ancient name among the Brythons, and we see it descending to the famous *Rudri*, whom we shall afterwards find claiming Bute from the Norsemen as his "birthright." There is nothing improbable in the supposition that the fortress was called after him.

However, I would suggest some connection between this compound place-name and the *Lawthing* or court, which must have been held in Rothesay by the Norse colonists. The fortress or *Mote* of Rothesay may also have been the *Moot-stead* or meeting-place of the court. According to the writer of the 'Statistical Account of Scone,' the Moothill

¹ Petrie, 'Round Towers,' p. 441.

there was known locally as *Boothill*, and in Gaelic *Tom a Mhoid*. The Norsemen, though holding the principle of monarchy, were ruled by democratic assemblies called *Things*, which exercised judicial and legislative power. These assemblies were national, district, or clan—Thing, Mót, and Hús-thing,—and had their own especial functions assigned to them. The Thingvöll (Thing-plain) was the place of assembly, and in its vicinity was the *Thing-brekka*, or Thing-hill, from which the decisions were promulgated.¹ Cases were also discussed within the *dómrings*, or circles of large stones, which were also set apart for religious functions as well as for duels. The assemblies were assisted in their deliberations by *lawmen* or *lögmen*, who, like the rabbis of old, were learned in law and usage, and held their position by hereditary right, or were chosen by the assembly. The *lawman* was chairman of the Thing, and came to have great influence and power.² From being originally a title of office (Lagamadr=jurisconsultus), it became the name which some powerful possessor of it handed down to his lands and clan in Cowall and Bute,—namely, Ardlamont and Kerrylamont (district of Lamont; in 1488 Kerelawmond). ‘The Four Masters’ refers to these Lagmans as a tribe of Norsemen from the Innsi Gall, or Western Isles of Scotland, the first mention of them being under the date of 962 A.D. (960, 4 M), when their fleet plundered Louth. Magnus, “son of Aralt, with the Lagmanns of the islands,” plundered Inis Cathaigh, and carried off Ivar, Lord of the foreigners of Limerick,—A.D. 974 (972,

¹ Pont, in his map of Bute, marks on the Ardbeg shore a site called Rillevoil (Reilig-völl?) beyond the old place of execution, the Gallows Knowe.

² ‘The Viking Age,’ by Du Chaillu, vol. i. chap. xxxvi. *et seq.* London, 1889.

4 M). The representative of this functionary in the fifteenth century was Lawmondson, the Coroner of Cowall, who paid the dues to the Crown. In Orkney and Zetland the jurisdiction of this *lawman* and the authority of the primitive Norwegian law were maintained till comparatively modern times. And at the head court or *Lawting* the lawman or his substitute, the head fold or foud, was assisted by assessors, or, more accurately, jurors, called "*Roythismen*" or "*Rothismen*."¹ The term Rothismen is evidently derived from the Icelandic *raedi*, defined by Vigfusson as "rule," "management," connected with Icel. *réttr*, right, and was applied to the old odallers, or free men, who alone had a voice in the Thing. The descendants of these Rothismen in Bute may have become those hereditary landholders, or odallers, who were granted feu-charters as vassals by King James IV. in 1506, and became incorrectly known as "Barons of Bute."²

Thus Bute—Rothsay Burg in particular—was probably the very centre out of which the lawman issued his edicts in the district over which the Thing presided; so that the Gaelic names for the isle and town, *Baile' Mhoid* and *Eilean a Mhoid*, would represent the same idea as the Norseman had when he called the *mote* or *moat* on its isle *Rothis-ay*—the rule-isle, or the isle of management.

¹ 'Spalding Club Miscell.,' vol. v. p. 37.

² See Appendix in vol. ii. for this charter.

CHAPTER II.

PREHISTORIC INHABITANTS.

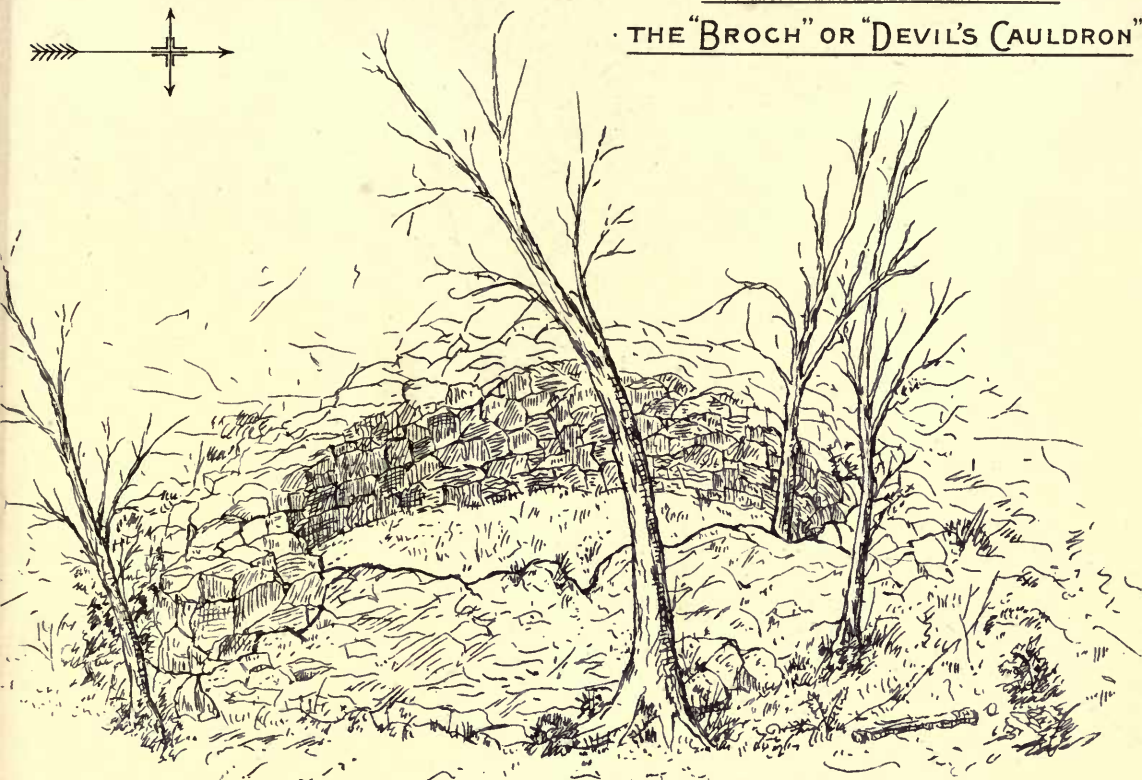
"For when the world was new, the race that broke
 Unfathered from the soil or opening oak,
 Lived most unlike the men of later times."

—JUVENAL.

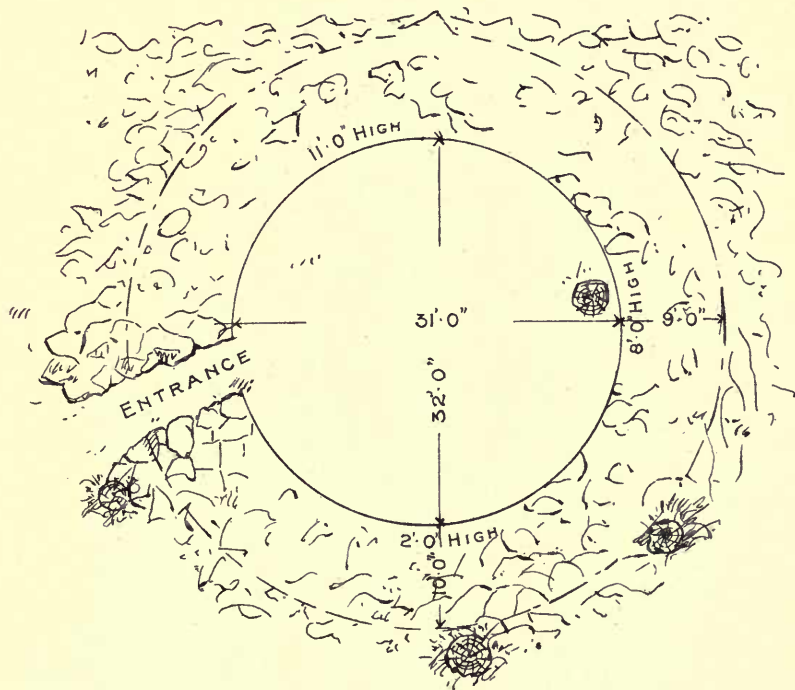


THE existence of that mysterious stone circus, adjacent to St Blaen's Church in the southern extremity of Bute, popularly designated "The Deil's Cauldron," to which rustics and scholars have assigned so many strange names and uses, naturally suggests that the history of Bute extends to a past period so remote as to be almost lost in oblivion. It is of the class of megalithic structures found in many countries far separated from each other, and usually referred to the workmanship of a prehistoric race remarkable for architectural skill and physical capacity. The silent masonry may yet divulge the secret of its origin and purpose, together with the names of its venerable builders. Meantime our historical data do not warrant a precise delineation of the sequence of the phases of civilisation witnessed here, in such terms as these: "In the scale of the former occupants of Western Europe we have, first, the flint folk of the geologist, then the reindeer folk in a hunter state, then the polished-stone-using folk

ST BLANE'S BUTE.
THE "BROCH" OR "DEVIL'S CAULDRON"



· SKETCH FROM THE EAST ·





(or pastoral), then the Celts, and lastly, the Teutons." Had the relics of past ages not been ruthlessly obliterated, the contents of mounds and graves cast away without being described, and primitive implements thrown aside, it might be otherwise. Still a few objects of interest survive, however, to illustrate several of these peoples and periods. While we may infer that the primitive race or races which held the soil passed through the three different phases of civilisation,—the hunting, the pastoral, and the agricultural,—the workmen who built this may be referred to so high an antiquity as to warrant the earliest consideration of them at this point.

The singular features and situation of the structure afford a monument of a rude powerful paganism in retreat before the irresistible force of a newer civilisation. For there is a well-defined aim carried out in the form as well as in the site selected. It is a massive circular wall from 9 to 10 feet in thickness, composed of huge unhewn blocks of stones, enclosing an oval space 33 feet 7 inches in the larger diameter, and 31 feet in the smaller. The height of the wall still ranges from 6 feet to 11 feet. A narrow doorway, 4 feet broad at the entrance, and more contracted as it enters, pierces the wall at the S.S.E. aspect. One of the stones forming this entrance is 9 feet long and 2 feet thick. In structures of this kind sometimes the entrance was also low, necessitating the visitors to crawl in or stoop. Other huge stones, singly set on end or built on each other, form a zigzag avenue up to the door.

The inner surface of the wall (Plate III.) displays remarkable polygonal masonry, formed of large smooth-faced stones, whose irregular joints and courses are neatly fitted into one

another without a binding medium, and present an even face in the interior of the edifice. What remains of the wall is not hollow, like other similar works in Scotland called Brochs, which are generally placed on sites commanding a wide outlook. The hollow portion of the walls, however, may have been overturned. But this example is peculiar in being cunningly disposed behind and beneath a precipitous ridge, 70 feet in height, and in being built into this ridge on the west out of the wild rocks that have been weathered off the brow of the precipice which overlooks the circle. The ridge itself is a natural citadel easily held on all sides, and its strategic position could be rendered impregnable by such strong outworks as still remain in their ruined condition. The foundations of an outer defensive wall of similar construction, 6 feet thick, are visible and run parallel to the ridge on the east so far, then sweep round so as to enclose a large space beneath the ridge.

It is plain that the work is the product of fear rather than of faith, and the final retreat of some tribe having reason to shun observation, on account of a superior assailant. When screened by brushwood, the hold would afford both effective shelter for men and cattle and storage for valuables. Fergusson, in 'A Short Essay on the Age and Uses of the Brochs,' while attributing these strange buildings to a Norwegian origin, says: "For all purposes of active or offensive warfare the Brochs are absolutely useless," yet "for passive resistance they are as admirable as anything yet invented." "The Deil's Cauldron," then, was the robber-proof "safe"; the overhanging eminence, the final stand at arms. No ecclesiastical purpose can be quite suitably assigned to it, so it must be referred to a very distant era, coeval probably with

the magnificent works in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Italy of a similar character and construction.

The natives of Bute, in continuing to call it "The Dreamin' Tree Ruin," preserve both its Celtic name and the memory of an ancient superstition. The "Dreamin' Tree" is no other than the Celtic words *Druim-en-tre*, the little ridge-dwelling; while the custom itself is clearly a survival of tree-worship practised by the same race who piled up the Circus.¹ Till very recently there flourished within its area an ash (some say a fir) which was "made for happy lovers." Standing together they plucked its leaves and ate them, believing this act to produce pleasant dreams wherein were revealed their intended spouses and true fates. Latterly, the tree had to be climbed together to obtain the prophetic philter so eagerly coveted.

Several weighty considerations deducible from relics of language, remains of megalithic erections—popularly known as Druidical temples and Pictish buildings—and stone implements, tend to prove that long before the Celtic people, either Goidels or Brythons, occupied Britain and Ireland, another great branch of the human family of non-Celtic character had overrun Europe as far as Alban, carrying with them an advanced knowledge of a practical rather than of an intellectual type. Even Herodotus in his day does not locate the Celts so far west as a tribe he names Kynetes, or dog-men, whoever they were.

The so-called Turanian people (which is a convenient name only for this particular type of people), as some eth-

¹ *Druim*, *Drom* (Goidelic); *Dram* (Cym.-Cel.), a ridge; *Tre*, *Tref* (Cym.-Cel.), a dwelling. This fate-making tree, sacred to the pagan Goddess of Love, gradually stripped of its summer glory, withered and died, within memory.

nologists recognise them, emerging from Asia, were of a restless, energetic, nomadic disposition, and having no equals in architectural skill, left their impress in those huge structures of uncemented stone which are called Cyclopean or Pelasgic work. In the neolithic age their implements were stone. The same characteristics which distinguish the masonry of the primitive inhabitants of Egypt, India, China, Mexico, who were not Celts, are found in many buildings in Scotland, and especially where the mysterious Picts are known to have lived. Eventually these wandering Orientals, —in an Iberian type, small, dark-skinned, curly-headed, long-skulled, represented by the early tin-workers and traders of Britain, and probably the race in Ireland called Firbolg—migrated to Alban. They are still represented in Europe by the Magyars, Lapps, and Finns, although in Alban they gradually became lost beneath the stream of Aryan life—namely, the Goidels and Brythons. In a late period, illustrated by Greek, Roman, and Irish chroniclers, we discover these two branches of the Celtic race closely contending with an ancient people, of different language and customs, till they, pressed northward and westward, disappear in Caledonia. In other lands the same race in the tug-of-war gave in to the Aryan, so here duly the Pict succumbed to the Goidel. This survival of the fittest was natural. The Turanian was a pilgrim people, with no cohesive power to underlie political and social life, so without literature and a national spirit they were dispersed, leaving scarce a monument. Similarly, the Picts have left so few memorials that we must revert to the family stock to discover their real character and habits.

Speaking generally, these pilgrims were nature-worshippers,

assigning deities, who were formerly human, to visible objects and places; were venerators of trees and sacred animals; adored the sun and stars; had ideas of spiritual development through the transmigration of souls; and sacrificed even human beings to appease their deities. Religion of this kind is similar in its main features to the Druidism practised by the Gauls, and recalls the occult intimacy with the deities in nature which the Caledonian Picts in Columba's time pretended to have. Their literature was only oral, and their records were kept in very simple signs or symbols, and consequently vanished. Their art was practical and even beautiful, but conveyed the idea that the proof of physical greatness was man's highest attainment. Some survivals of this primitive spirit long lingered in Bute and the West Coast.

There is a remarkable harmony in Irish ethnologic legends in attributing an eastern origin to the primitive conquering races in Ivernia or Erin. They variously trace to it successive migrations from Scythia, Egypt, Greece, through the Mediterranean and Spain, through Gaul, or round by the North Sea. Except in one particular, Bute is not much concerned with these legends. But from the internal shiftings of races and tribes in Erin, this general deduction may be drawn; that the aboriginal people, who were not Celtic, were slowly cornered by the Goidels into north-east Ireland, or Uladh—*i.e.*, Ulster—or forced into the Western islands and Caledonia, whither their kinsmen in Britain were also driven. The distinctive features, customs, and ideas of the conquered race remained long after their mother-tongue gave place to that of their conquerors, just as in Bute, families of pure Celtic origin, whose parents spoke Gaelic fifty years ago, can only speak English now.

These Ulidians, Picts, or Cruithnigh, occupied Bute, then were disturbed by the Brythons, and finally amalgamated with the Goidels from Ireland. They obtained the name *Cruithni* (Latinised *Picti*, painted) from their custom of painting the forms (*Crotha*) of beasts, birds, and fishes on their faces and bodies.¹

To these non-Celtic emigrants settled in Alban the Pictish Christian missionaries first came from Munster, where the Firbolg settled, and Ulster, as will be noticed again.

It appears from a mythical account of these early migrations that, after the defeat of a people known as Firbolg, by others styled Tuatha Dé Danann, the former overran the Western Isles, whence later the Picts expelled them. They were credited with being descendants of Symon Brek, of Thracian origin, whom the Greeks had enslaved, forcing them to dig earth and carry it in leathern sacks or bags (in Irish, *bolg*). They revolted, and turning their bags into coracles, escaped to Ireland. To Hibernian moralists they had a bad character, as shown in these lines :—

" Every blustering, vicious man . . .
Every gross, lying, unholy fellow—
Remants these of those three peoples
Of Gailiúin, of Fir Bolg, and of Fir Domnann."

Three remarkable traditions which have a family resemblance to this myth still survive in Bute. Perhaps the myth is only a popular description of the practical work of the primitive Ivernians, who mined for minerals and excavated for their cyclopean buildings.

On the western shore of the isle, near Scarrel Point, exists

¹ Prof. Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' p. 240.

a cave designated "The Piper's Cave," which the natives believed to be the opening to a subterranean passage through Eenan Hill to Carnbaan or Achavulig (Ach-a-bhuilg), where its exit was. Supernatural beings inhabited this dark retreat, which no mortal dared enter. A bold piper essayed this forlorn-hope, and was heard by his friends gaily piping underground until his slogan became hushed in the depths of the mountain. As he passed under the hearthstone of Lenihall farmhouse, he was heard lamenting that he had not a sword-hand as well as two for his pipes, and he would have routed the ogres and demons attacking him ("Da lamh air son a Phìob agus lamh air son a chlaideamh."). Then the music ceased—for ever.

Within a short distance of the scene of this exploit is a series of underground buildings, like huge cists, called Carnbaan, which also require consideration hereafter.

When St Blaas, whose uncle, St Catan, and mother, Ertha, were Dalaradian Picts, after being educated by SS. Comgall and Kenneth, also Picts, returned to Bute, he brought with him holy earth, which the tradition says he had transported from Rome. As he carried his precious burden up from Port Lughdach, through Glencallum, to the site of his chapel, the "rigwoodie," to which the creels of earth were suspended, from his neck, broke. He implored a native woman, then on her way to the shore to collect "moorach," little shell-fish, to assist him, only to meet a refusal, however. The irritated saint replied to the disobliging dame :—

"An uair a theid thu do an traigh
Biodh am muir làn ann,"—

i.e., Whenever you go to the sea-shore may there be high tide.

And after his church was erected he broadened this curse by

enacting that no women were to obtain burial in his cemetery beside the men. An adjoining piece of ground was assigned to females; and this custom of separate burial survived till 1661, when it was stopped by an injunction of the Presbytery of Dunoon. This association of St Blaas with a basket or bag is thus suggestive of the popular description of the race he sprang from.

The medieval Castle of Rothesay, with its perfect Norman masonry, is a circular fortress, and supposed, on account of its form, to have superseded a Celtic Rath, and to have been built by Rothir, a descendant of Symon Brek. The tradition among the Gaelic-speaking natives was that "a race called Pechs" built it with stone from Mountstuart, and that every stone was handed from hand to hand by a line of "Pechs" extending from the quarry to the fort. This myth, reduced to its elements, may perpetuate an important circumstance corroborative of the activity of the original inhabitants of the isle, who were not Aryans, or waggon-men, able to transport stones by wheels, nor yet sea-dogs, like the Vikings, carrying material by ships, but simple manual workers, of one family with the Bag-men.

THE LANGUAGES OF ELD.—Were a scientific analysis and classification of the place-names of Bute to be undertaken, it would in all probability be found that, as in the excavations of ancient cities like Rome and Jerusalem, layers of *débris* of one period are found covered by those of a later, and even the work of a departed generation is intermingled with that of its successor, the surviving traces of one dead language containing memorials of its immediate predecessors.

Generally speaking, the Goidelic branch of the Celtic tongue (as a spoken tongue) has held the field in Bute not less than thirteen hundred years, since the sons of Erc established themselves in the West. Consequently, in every quarter, we find a preponderance of purely Goidelic nomenclature, where one might otherwise have expected to discover reminiscences of a prehistoric people of a different race. The hill-tops, the prominent ridges, the striking features of the land, the lochs, the quarterings of the land, the villages, the churches, with a few exceptions, have been designated by Goidelic descriptive names. In other districts it is common to notice the traces of a conquered people in the popular names which linger in the memory in reference to places esteemed by the conquered or despised by the victor. Here it is otherwise, although there is great reason to suspect that many of the place-names have an origin with the primitive folk who preceded both Brython and Goidel in Bute. (See Map, frontispiece.)

The paucity of the Brythonic or Cymro - Celtic names, together with the situations in which they are found, leads me to infer that the first people—call them Picts, Cruithni, or Ivernians,—were driven out of the isle, northward, long before the Dalriadic Scots or Goidels swarmed out of Ireland—*i.e.*, the fifth century. Or it might even be that the Brythons drove these Goidels west into Ireland, and that they afterwards re-emigrated, like the Ivernians before them. Be that as it may, I have afterwards to show (chapter v.) that there is a reasonable ground for supposing that Pictish missionaries, like Finnian, Faolan, Catan, Colman, and others — Irish Picts—brought the Gospel specially to these primitive folk in the West. And it was because broken families of them lingered in the Western Isles and dales of the mainland that

the Dalaradian pioneers of Christianity found their incentive to mission-work here.

The Appendix of Place-names will more fully illustrate this subject.¹ *Achavulig* (Ach-a-bhuilg) contains a word which might be identified with *bolg*, a name in various combinations found in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. *Bolc* was an epithet of the early Pictish king Gartnail, and among the Pictish names of witnesses to a benefaction of King Hungus, given in the Legend of St Andrew, *Bolge* appears. The "Firbolg" were, according to the chroniclers, a people of Ireland who "took possession of Manand and certain islands in like manner—Ara and Ila and Recca."²

In *Kerryfern* (Ceathramh fern, the alder-tree quarter, &c.; Goidelic, *feàrna*, s.f.) is preserved a word *fern*, which is the Pictish equivalent for anything good. I am not aware that the district known as Kerryfern on the west side of Bute was ever noted for alders; and although the prefix is pure Goidelic, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the idea "*fern*," which gave this district its name, was a primitive survival.

Those obstinate words which cannot be interpreted, after the solvents of the Brythonic, Goidelic, and Teutonic tongues have been applied to them, might be set aside as a residuum in which philologists are to seek for survivals of the primitive tongue. I have already tried to show that *Kingarth* is a word of primitive parentage, which now exists in a more modern garb; and there may be others which have assumed new meanings by being found identical in form in two languages, the first of which was strangled by its conquering successor.

¹ Appendix I.

² 'Chron. Picts and Scots,' pp. 23, 27, 187.

THE BRYTHONIC LANGUAGE is still represented by a few names, which resisted the interference of the Goidelic invaders of the land. The test-words of the Cymric language are not all illustrated ; but of *bryn*, a brow, we have a survival in Barone Hill ; of *pen*, a head (Goidelic, *ben* or *cenn*), in Penycahil ; and of *tre*, a dwelling, in "Druim-en-tre ruin" (cf. Cymric, *dram*, a ridge), the circular building at Kilblaen.

If scholars are right in associating the name of the Cumbræ Isles (*Kymry-eyiar*, Norse) with those Brythons called the Cumbras, the Cumbri, or Kymry, who possessed Cumbria or Cambria—a name which signified *fellow-countrymen*, and was applied to the scattered septs of the Brythons wherever found—then Bute may retain a reminiscence of them in the district called Cummermennoch, *Cumer, maen* (Cymric, *min, men, maen*, a high rock ; *ugh*, high), the high brow of the hill of the Kymry, which might apply either to the fort on Barone or on Dunallunt, between which the district lies, or to the now dismantled Cnoc-an-Coigreach. In the 'Saxon Chronicle' we find *Cumerland, Cumberland, Cumbraland*, for Cumbria.¹

Llan, an enclosure, later the sacred enclosure or church, is a Cymric word, apparently appearing in St *Kruiskland's* Church, and in Plan (Cym., *pwł*, a marsh), the farm lying south of St Blaen's Church and above the marshy ground of Bealach Dearg Bog. In Rothesay, *Rosland*, in the vicinity of the church, may be connected with Cymric *Rhos* or *Ros*, a moor, and *llan*, the church.

Dál, a meeting-place, is probably found in Dunburgidale, a fort ; Ardrosedale, a fort ; Birgidale.

There are several prefixes and suffixes almost identical in

¹ Cf. 'Celtic Britain,' Rhys, p. 144.

both branches of the Celtic language which are well illustrated here, such as—

Dun (Cym. *din*), a hill-fort—Dunallunt, Dunagoil, Dunstrone (Goidelic, *sron*; Cym. *trwyn* or *tron*, a promontory).

Torr (Cym. *twr*), a mound, conical hill — Torrwood, Torachrew, Torachapple.

Tir, land—Achantirie (*Tir-ith*, land of corn).

Teach and *Tigh* (Cym. *tŷ*), a house—Teyrow, Teyntudor, Tighnleanan.

Ard, a height—Ardmoleis, Ardroscaidale, Ardscaipsie.

Carn or *Cairn*, a heap of stones (Cym. *karn*, *kern*—Carnbaan, Carnahouston.

Dair (Cym. *dar*), an oak-tree—Bardarach.

Innis (Cym. *ynys*), an island—Inchmarnock.

But the preponderance of the place-names are of Goidelic origin—a fact not to be wondered at, seeing that, until half a century ago, the Gaelic language was native in the isle. For example, *Achadh* (*ach*, *agh*, *auch*, *ough*), a field, plain, or meadow; *Baile* (*bal*), a place, home, town; *Barr*, a summit; *Blar*, a plain or battle-field; *Ceann*, a head or headland; *Kil*, a church; *Cnoc*, a hill; *Cul*, a back or corner; *Ceathramh* (Kerry), a quarter; *Druim*, a ridge; *Lèan*, *Lèana*, meadow, a swampy plain; *Learg*, the slope of a hill; *Rath*, a round earthen fort; *Suidhe*, a seat;—are words of frequent recurrence. Thus we have Achamore, Achawillig, Acholter, Balianlay, Balecaul, Barr Hill, Bardarach, Blarsgadan, Blarmein, Ceanngarad, Kilblaan, Kilchattan, Knocanrioch, Mecknock, Culevin, Culdonais, Druimachloy, Drumavaineran, Kerrycroy, Kerrymenoch, Leanentesken, Balilone, Largibrachtan, Largizean, Cnocanrath, Suidhe Chattan, Suidhe

Bhlain, and others. On the farm of Greenan (*grianan*, a sunny spot) the fields were named in Goidelic, until the last generation, when English designations superseded them. This is a very good example of the change which has taken place :—

Blar-sgadan, battle-field of Misfortune (burial-cairns found not far off).

Glas-trom, grey (blue or green) elder-tree.

Shan-tallon, *seann*, old ; *talla*, hall.

Cnapach, hilly, lumpy.

Reiliglas, *reilig*, a burial-place—the green burial-place.

Reilig-nerget, burial-place of Nerget.

Reilig-vourkie, burial-place of Vourkie.

At what period the Goidels divided the isle into districts (*ceathramh*) is not determined ; but of this division there are traces in those place-names—Kerrycroy, Kerrymoran, Kerryneven, Kerrytonlia, Kerrylamont, Kerrymennoch, Kerryfern, Kerrycrusach. The appearance of *Lamont* (Norse, *lagamadr*, law-man) in conjunction with *Kerry* would signify a period contemporary with the Norse possession for the origin of that word.

The Goidels called the district occupied by a family or tribe (*Cine*) a *Tuath*. Each *Tuath* had a church, chief, and poet.

The tribe (*Fine*) held the tribe-land, the arable part of which was set off in shares to the free members of the tribe ; the pasture-land being grazed upon in common.

The *Flaith* or nobles of the tribe held the inheritance land (*Orba*) as a personal possession, and under them were tribesmen and stranger serfs. The *Tuath* was made up of *Raths* or homesteads, each surrounded by its earthen rampart.



This word is preserved in North Bute in *Cnoc-an-rath*—possibly also in Rothesay. The burgh of Rothesay still possesses a part of the old *Fecht-fine* or tribe-land at Westland and Ardrannan. The leader or *Toisech* of the tribe was elected from the nobles, and was supported out of the tribe-land. The Neils or Macneils of Kilmorie long held office as Crowners of Bute, a function which in other places came through appointment as a *Toisech-Dior*, or leader in regard to the law. When the tribe-land became the property of the Crown, the *Toisech* was called a *Thane*, and Bute is once mentioned as Buthania. The word *Tosh* (now M'Intosh), as a family name once so common in Bute, is said by Sir John Skene to be the equivalent of *Thanus*.¹

The *Tuath* was divided into townships, *Bailes*, *Bals*, of which there were Ballentua, Balicurich, Baliochdrach, Balianlay, Balicurry, Balicaul, Balilone, Balnakelly, Baile' Mhoid; and into homesteads, *tighs*, of which several have been already mentioned.

The use of the word *Butt*—a small field, a word of uncertain origin in this sense—to designate a small parcel of land, is evidently much more modern than that of those above specified. We have Butt Glencallum, Butt n' tuilk, Buttblair, Buttnamadda, Buttnamenna, Buttnaflorin, Buttinluck, Buttbruich, Buttcurry, Buttgarry, mostly in the parish of Kingarth.

The Northmen have left fewer linguistic proofs of their prolonged domination over Bute than the student would expect. The survivals, however, are definite. *Ay* or *Ey*, an island, appears in Rothesay, Cumbrae, probably also in

¹ 'Regiam Majestatem,' bk. iv. c. 31. Cf. Skene's 'Fordun,' vol. ii. p. 447.

Scalpsie; *burg* or *borg*, in Dunburgidale, Birgidale, probably also in Ambrisbeg, Ambrismore; *haugr*, a heap or mound, Ayshaug, Cuochoag, Bruchag, Ascog; *wick* or *vig*, a bay, Ettrick; *strad* (A.S.) *stroede*, a row or street, The Straad; *hus*, a house; *ton* or *tun*, an enclosure, Carnahouston, *Langill*—in combination with *chorad*, *quochoag*, &c.—*lang*, long; *gil*, a glen with a stream flowing through it.

It will thus be seen that the Goidelic language has, at least in place-names, held its own throughout the ages, and in all the more prominent features of the land is likely to continue into the remotest future.¹

¹ Merely for convenience, I use the terms *Goidel* and *Goidelic* in reference to the Celts both in Erin and Alban in the earliest times, and *Gael* and *Gaelic* to the Celts of Scotland only in our own day.

CHAPTER III.

MONUMENTS OF UNRECORDED TIMES.

"How many different rites have these grey old temples known!
To the mind what dreams are written in these chronicles of stone!"

—D. F. M'CARTHY.



THE history of the early races who inhabited Bute has to be painfully deciphered from such memorials as their weapons, graves, memorial structures, forts, and dwellings in their now time-worn condition afford us. Those periods into which antiquaries divide prehistoric time, according to the character and materials of which weapons and tools were made—viz., the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages,—are sufficiently well illustrated here to show that the same civilising movements which influenced other places influenced Bute in their respective successions. The smallness of the area under investigation makes it impossible to obtain very rich relics from which to form generalisations. As is natural to suppose, men at first used their hands, and then the rude natural objects that seemed fitted to effect their ingenious purposes,—a fact borne out by the observations of all who have studied the subject, so that even the Latin poet, Lucretius, could write—

"Man's earliest arms were fingers, teeth, and nails,
And stones, and fragments from the branching woods;
Then copper next; and last, as later traced,
The tyrant iron."

Of the very early ages when uncivilised man supported himself by fishing and hunting and by herbs, roots, and fruits, or even later, when he gathered the refuse of family and tribe into "kitchen-middens," we have no memorials in Bute. Having no protecting medium, the human bones have dissolved. No bone or wooden implements have survived. I have been informed of the finding of undressed flint arrow-heads, but one cannot determine whether these have descended from the Palæolithic or Primitive Stone Age or were a later product.

TABLE OF PREHISTORIC MONUMENTS AND RELICS.

- I. PIT-DWELLINGS: Barmore Wood and Hill; Barone Hill; Dunallunt Hill.
- II. CRANNOGES: Loch Quien; Loch Dhu.
- III. 1. EARTH FORTS (Duns or Rathes): Dunallunt (No. 1) (Blain, p. 117), round; Cnoc-an-Rath or Tom-en-raw (Blain, p. 110), round; Nether Ettrick (?), oval; Nether Ardrosedale, round; Ardnahoe, oval.
2. STONE FORTS (Duns or Burgs):—
 1. *Solid Walls*: Dunstrone of Lubas (Bl., p. 71), oval; Carnahouston (Bl., p. 37), round (?); Dun of Scalpsie (Bl., p. 34), oval; Clachcarnie (Bl., p. 35), oval; The Fort, Mecknock, removed (Bl., pp. 91, 117); Castle Cree (Mackie's or Macrae Castle) (Bl., p. 91), oval; Bicker's Houses, oval; Dunallunt (No. 2), round; Aultmore (Kilmichael), semi-circular; *Cnoc-an-coigreaich* (Auchantirie), round; Ardmaileish (Bl., p. 114), removed, round; Barone Hill (Bl., p. 86), oval; Drumgirvan (Bl., p. 35), irregular circle; Balilone (Bl., p. 35), oval.
 2. *Hollow Walls*: Dunburgidale. (Probably also Cree's Castle

and The Dreamin' Tree Broch at St Blaas's Church, round.)

3. *Vitrified Walls*: Dunagoil (Bl., p. 75; Reid, pp. 15, 16), irregular, to suit ground; (One of the Burnt Islands) Eilean Buidhe (Bl., p. 116; Reid, pp. 15, 16), round.

[CASTLES: Kelspoke; Kilchattan; Wester Kames; Kames; Castle Cree (see above); Rothesay; Meikle Kilmory; Ascog.]

IV. GRAVES:—

1. *Cists without urns*: Dunagoil (Bl., p. 78), bones, parts of skulls; St Blaas's Churchyard, bones; Craighiorach (Macconachie MS.); Bruchag, Kerrylamont, bones and ashes; Cnoc-an-coigreach and Mid-field, Auchantirie, skulls and ashes; Rhubodach, skull.
2. *Cists with urns*: Straad (Ord. Surv.), urn; Nether Ardroscaedale (Bl., p. 92), urn; Hill of Windyhall, several urns; Mount-stuart, urn, trepanned skull, beads, bronze, 1890; (S.-E. of) Mickle Kilchattan, urn.
3. *Barrows*: (Carnbaan); Kerrylamont (2); Calmorayin; Mount-stuart, removed (Bl., p. 59); Kerrytonlia (2), largest mound opened, found empty; Watch Hill, Upper Ardroscaedale, bronze weapon and cist.
4. *Cairns with cists*: (N. of) Bruchag (Maccon. MS.), 1817, ornamented urn; Scalpsie, oval (Maccon. MS.), several urns; Breckoch (Bl., p. 85), urn; Reiligædain, 19 cists, 1 urn, removed (see chap. viii.)
5. *Cairns or barrows unopened*: Rudhabodach; Kerrycrusach (S.S.E. of); Ardroscaedale (No. 2); Scalpsie; (Ayshaug) Stravannan; Inchmarnock; Undraynian Point; Kerrytonlia; Ballycurry; Dunagoil.
6. *Graveyards with cists*: Kilblaan; Inchmarnock; Stravannan.
7. *Disappeared burial-places*: Kilmachalmaig; Reilignerget; Reilig-glas; Reilignvourkie; Reilignvöil; Clachieran; Gallachan (?).

V. STONE CELLS OR CISTS:—

1. *Dolmens*: Bicker's Houses; Kilmichael (Michael's grave).
2. *Passage Graves* (?): Carnbaan (Lenihuline, Bl., p. 100).

VII. STONE CIRCLES: Blackpark, Kingarth; East Colmac.

- #### VII. MONOLITHS: Largizean (3); Craighiorach; Acholter (W. of); East Colmac (S. of); Ardmaleish (N. of), Skippers Wood; (Kilwhinleck, removed; Ballycurry, removed, Bl., p. 91); St Ninian's Point.

VIII. SCULPTURED CROSSES: Rothesay Churchyard (Kilwhinleck?); Rothesay Castle (St Brioc's Church?); East Colmac (Colman's?); Inchmarnock (2); (Guthleik's? and another).

IX. FINDS:—

Rude stone implements: arrow-heads, Loch Fad; flints, New Farm; (flints in Cumbræ).

Polished stone implements: Ambrisbeg Hill (Lochend, Greenan, Loch Greenan, lost).

Querns: Loch Fad; Kilblaan (2); Rothesay Castle; Barone Park; Crossbeg (1891); Scalpsie (1891); Kingarth (1893).

Weapons: bronze swords, Upper Lubas; Ardroscaedale.

Ornaments: (undistinguishable) reputed tomb of St Blaen.

Vessels: craggans in Rothesay Castle ditch.

Rings: Plan Farm. (See fig., p. 82.)

Fillets: Plan Farm. (See fig., p. 82.)

Coins: Plan Farm.

"*Treasure-trove*": on shore opposite Millbank, Ascog.

DWELLINGS AND FORTS.—In prehistoric times the residences of the unsettled and uncivilised tribes were, like the wigwams of the American Indians, or the huts formed of branches and reeds by the Africans, of such an evanescent and slim character as necessarily to have perished now.

Where natural caves, wave-worn in cliffs, or formed by projecting rocks, afforded places of shelter and concealment, primitive men sought their first home. There exist a few such on the rocky shores of Bute, which, even to this day, are frequented by "tribes of the wandering foot." But their *débris* gives no indications of their prehistoric occupants.

The next form of habitations were *pits*, or shallow excavations in the soil, of a round or oblong form, about 7 or 8 feet in diameter, with a turf or earth ring round each of them, to support the slight roof-trees, covered with sods, heather, or rushes, which kept out the wind and water. They were frequently on slopes. A small aperture behind afforded entrance to the

dweller and egress for the smoke from the hearth, composed of three or four flat stones. On these floors are found the charred remains of fuel and of food; but when undisturbed they are discoverable by the richer greenness of the turf covering the pagan's homestead. In some places they are found in clusters—and not improbably the earthen ramparts (*duns* or *raths*) which crest our hills gave protection to groups of these simple dwellings. Four excavations, over 6 feet in diameter, on the north side of Dunallunt Fort, might with safety be taken as indications of human habitations of this type. But of these pit-dwellings I have not been able to inspect an example which might be viewed without doubt as to its original purpose. On Barmore Hill and in the wood several scooped-out hollows are seen, but these may have been the hearths of the charcoal-burners of a modern day. An aged native informed me that, in his boyhood, there were similar stances of these so-called British houses on the northern face of Barone Hill. These I have not been able to discover.

One of the most interesting survivals of unrecorded ages is the *Crannog* (Celt. *crann*, beam, tree), or lacustrine house, built of wood on small, oftentimes artificial, islands, or on piles, near the shores of lakes. In some cases these crannoges are entirely constructed from the water's edge upward, stone, clay, and wood being utilised, and the edifice was protected by a circular wooden stockade; in other cases, a basis of stones, on an island or peninsula, was made the foundation of the wooden superstructures. In early times they were the regular dwellings of a fisher population; in later days they became refuges and retreats. Herodotus (450 B.C.) first draws attention to these lake-dwellers on Lake Prasias in

Thrace, whose descendants to this day live in houses perched over the water.¹ It is in connection with the instructions of the Persian king, Darius, to his general, Megabazus, in Thrace, to clear out the Pæonians.

“Those who inhabit Lake Prasias itself were not at all subdued by Megabazus. Yet he attempted to conquer those who live upon the lake in dwellings contrived after this manner: planks fitted on lofty piles are placed in the middle of the lake, with a narrow entrance from the main land by a single bridge. These piles that support the planks all the citizens anciently placed there at the common charge; but afterwards they established a law to the following effect: whenever a man marries, for each wife he sinks three piles, bringing wood from a mountain called Orbelus; but every man has several wives. They live in the following manner: every man has a hut on the planks, in which he dwells, with a trap-door closely fitted in the planks, and leading down to the lake. They tie the young children with a cord round the foot, fearing lest they should fall into the lake beneath.

“To their horses and beasts of burden they give fish for fodder; of which there is such abundance, that when a man has opened his trap-door he lets down an empty basket by a cord into the lake, and after waiting a short time, draws it up full of fish.”

The excavations of these lacustrine abodes in Switzerland, Ireland, and Scotland prove, by means of the stone implements exposed in them, that they have existed since the Stone Age—there being found “dug-outs,” or canoes from a single bole, querns, hammer-stones, celts, whorls, bone tools, and other primitive utensils.

These island refuges, however, have been utilised in comparatively recent times as strongholds in face of an invading foe. In 1005 the great Irish hero, Brian Boroimhe, invaded

¹ Bk. v. cap. xvi.

the Western Isles, and the chronicler says: "By him were strengthened also the duns, fastnesses, and *islands*, and celebrated royal forts of Mumhain."¹ In the seventeenth century the Scottish Highlanders fled to crannoges with their valuables in times of danger. Two crannoges exist here,—in Loch Quien (Gael. *cuithe*, a little trench or mound, a cattle-fold) and in Loch Dhu. As Mr John Mackinlay had an opportunity in a dry season of examining these strange structures, I give in full his descriptions of them:—

"The 'crannoge' of which I am now to give an account was discovered by me in the summer of 1812, and is thus described in a letter, dated 13th February 1813, which I wrote to the late James Knox, Esq., of Glasgow, who immediately sent it to his friend, George Chalmers, Esq., author of 'Caledonia'; and this letter led to my having a long correspondence with him relative to the antiquities of Buteshire. The following is an extract:—

"There is a small mossy lake, called Dhu-Loch, situated in a narrow valley in the middle of that strong tract of hill-ground extending from the Dun-hill of Barone to Ardscalepsie Point, to which valley it is said the inhabitants of Bute were wont to drive their cattle in times of danger. I remember, when a schoolboy, to have heard that there were remains of some ancient building in that lake, which were visible when the water was low; and happening to be in that part of the island last summer (1812), I went to search for it. I found a low green islet about 20 yards long, which was connected with the shore, owing to the lowness of the water, after a continuance of dry weather. Not seeing any vestiges of stone foundations, I was turning away, when I observed ranges of oak piles, and on examination it appeared that the edifice had been thus constructed.

"The walls were formed by double rows of piles $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet asunder, and the intermediate space appears to have been filled with beams of wood, some of which yet remain. The bottom had

¹ 'Wars of Gaedhil,' p. 140.

been filled up to the surface of the water with moss or turf, and covered over with shingle, or quarry rubbish, to form a floor. The ground-plan was a triangle, with one point towards the shore, to which it had been connected by a bridge or stage, some of the piles of which are still to be traced. There is reason to believe that the space between this building and the shore of the lake was much deeper, or else was so soft as not to bear a person's weight, which it can scarcely do yet. The foundation was secured by a bank about 6 or 8 feet broad, formed with small piles, filled up with moss; and when the superstructure had decayed to the high-water level, the gravel of the floor burst out and covered part of this bank, which gave the islet its present shape. The water of the lake is of a dark colour (as its name imports), owing to the bottom being wholly moss, and this circumstance has prevented the decay of the piles as high as the water reached, as they still continue in the state of *moss-oak*, many trees of which are to be seen in the bottom of the lake when the water is clear. This uncommon building was perhaps the *prætorium* of this extensive natural fortress, formed by a double range of hills which seem anciently to have been covered with wood.'

"At the south end of the lake there are several large roots of oak-trees still fixed on the ground where they grew: the stems had decayed down to the roots, where they were about 3 feet in diameter, and the roots were preserved by a coating of moss-earth.

"I revisited this islet in the summer of 1826, which was uncommonly dry, and the water in that lake was consequently much diminished. On that occasion I observed an extension of the fort at the south-east corner, formed by small piles and a framework of timbers laid across each other, in the manner of a raft. It seems to have formed the foundation of some wooden erection which was destroyed by fire, as the tops of the piles were charred; those piles (as well as the framework) were only about 4 inches in diameter. I took out one of the larger piles of the original edifice, which was 5 inches in diameter, and the point seems to have been cut by a celt, or stone axe, as the cuts were hollow, or as it were conchoidal.

"There is another insular fort in Loch Quein, which loch is

situated near the south end of the valley between Rothesay and Scalpsie Bays. And it also may be described as a crannoge, in the wider sense of the term.

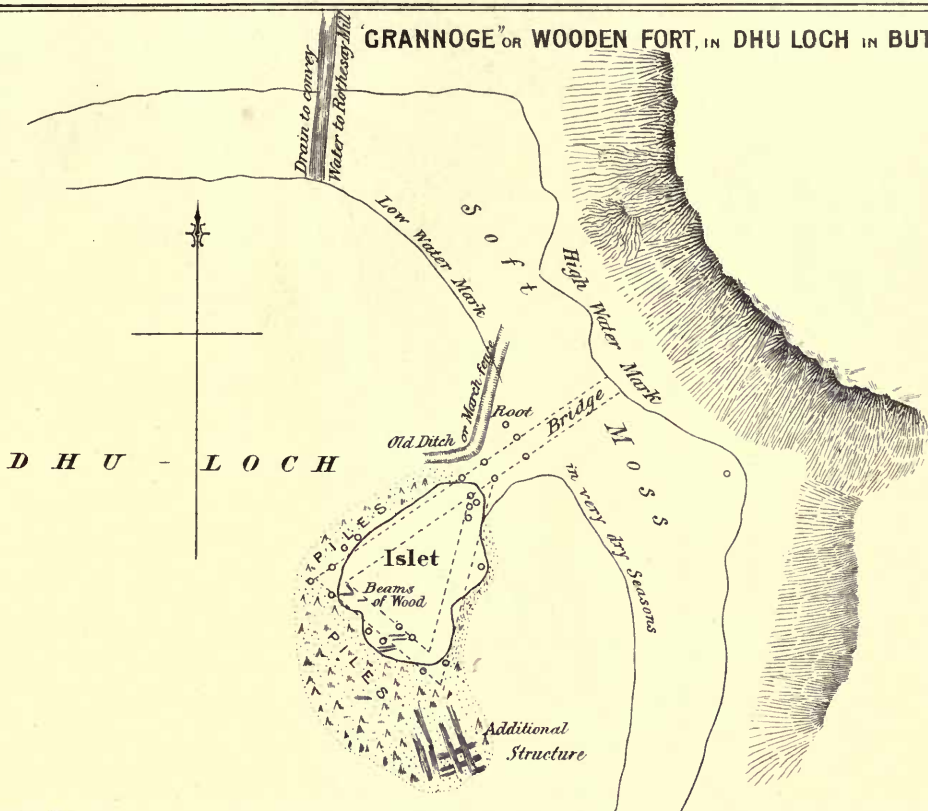
"I visited it in the summer of 1814; but owing to the water being pretty deep, and there being no boat on the lake, I could not get upon the islet to measure and examine it more closely; but when viewed from an adjacent height, it appeared to be an oval of 60 or 70 feet in its longest diameter. The islet (which is on the south-west side of the lake) seems to be natural, or the wall of stone, or stones and turf, follow its shape. The wall appeared to be 2 or 3 feet thick, and about a foot in height remained. There are two rows of piles extending obliquely to the shore of the lake, which either supported a bridge or a hand-rail; between the piles the ground is covered with flat stones, not raised like a causeway, but rather seeming to have been used as stepping-stones. The depth of the water here appeared to be about 2 feet; at another place it seemed not to be above 18 inches; but the bottom is soft and mossy.

"In the north end of this lake there is a conical pile of stones like a cairn, 9 or 10 feet in diameter, at the level of the water, which is there about 5 feet deep. The use of this pile of stones I cannot conjecture."¹

Crannog in Loch Quien.—After a personal visit I find that Mr Mackinlay's account is quite conjectural. The island is of a pear-shape, lying 100 feet from the west side of the loch, and is surrounded by 2 feet of water. It is composed of a dark vegetable soil filled with stones broken from the hillside and water-worn stones, and without doubt is artificial. The centre of the isle is 2 feet 3 inches above water-mark. Huge blocks round the edge of a circular mound seem to be traces of an encircling wall. An excavation among some scattered

¹ 'Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.,' vol. ii. pp. 43-46. Read 18th January 1858. "Notice of two 'Crannoges,' or Pallisaded Islands, in Bute, with Plans." By John Mackinlay, F.S.A. Scot.

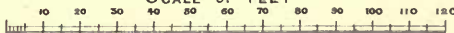
'GRANNOGE' OR WOODEN FORT, IN DHU LOCH IN BUTE



'GRANNOGE,' LOCH QUIEN.

Double row of Piles with stones between

SCALE OF FEET





stones in the centre of the mound exposed some flat stones which had been subjected to fire. A complete excavation would prove satisfactory.

The isle had been connected with the mainland by a causeway about 7 feet broad, laid with small flags between two rows of oak-posts, and fragments of ten of these substantial trees are seen in the water still projecting from the mud. One black oak-post, 6 feet long and 6 inches in diameter, with tool-marks on the cut ends, lies on the causeway.

The other cairn referred to is a mere congeries of stones, about 60 feet in diameter, and 2 feet above the level of the loch. Here I found a smooth stone, like a grain-pounder, having two parallel incisions upon one face.

FORTS.—Nearly every commanding and impregnable eminence in Bute seems, at one time or other, to have been occupied by a fort—composed either of a rampart of earth or a stone wall. These I treat of from their simple up to their complex form.

Dunallunt (Dun-allerd), or Cnoc-an-dune (342 feet), is a grass-grown hill, whose top is entirely enclosed within an earth-built fort, 120 feet in diameter. The steep slopes on the north and east sides are cut by a ditch, out of which an earthen fence has been raised, apparently as an outer defensive circumvallation. The earth wall on the top is considerably flattened down. Within the circle on the north side four hollows appear as if they indicated the sites of primitive houses.

Cnoc-an-rath, or Tom-en-raw (the hill of the rath or fort), is a circular earthwork thrown up on the ridge, at North Bute Church (122 feet), between Ettrick Bay and Kames Bay. It

is still entire, is surrounded by a stone wall built by Lord Bannatyne, and is planted with firs, among which is the tomb of a former proprietor.¹ The fort is an irregular circle, 88 feet and 91 feet in diameter. The fosse is 10 feet deep. In early Celtic times a homestead was called a *Rath*, because within its enclosing wall, *rath*, the house and cattle-houses were built.

Aitrick (Atrig, Athriochg, Etterick (Pont has Ettricks), or Cnoc-an-Rath, Ordnance Survey), is a huge lovely green mound, situated in the valley of Drumachloy, 180 yards west of the farmhouse of Nether Ettrick, at the junction of Drumachloy and Ettrick Burns. It has every appearance of having been formerly a fortified place. According to Mr Lytteil ('Landmarks,' p. 300), "Great quantities of the stones which formed the ramparts have been removed within the memory of persons still living in the island. From north to south the fort or palace would be about one hundred paces in length, and the breadth from east to west about fifty-four paces." The upper surface of the mount is oval in form, and is 60 feet above the level of the burn at its western base. No traces of stone having been utilised in the ramparts are now visible, which leads me to think the circumvallation was of earth.

Nether Ardroscaedale.—On the crest of the ridge above, and north-west of this farm exists the outline of a circular fort of a simple character, the circumvallation being of earth, unless the stones have been totally removed. It is 80 feet in diameter. The walls of what may have been folds to the south of this circle, composed of huge stones, are still lying partly *in situ*.

¹ "James Hamilton of Kames, born 14th July 1775; died 5th January 1849."

Upper Ardroscaedale Watchhill is in reality a burial-mound, and as such is treated of elsewhere.

Dunallunt (No. 2).—The scanty remains of a circle, 80 feet in diameter, composed of stones and earth, are visible on the brow of a rocky ridge 50 yards above the road, direct west of Largivrechtan farmhouse.

Dun Scalpsie (pronounced locally Scaupsay) is reared on a bold precipitous rock overlooking the Bay of Scalpsie, and having an aspect towards Carnahouston, the Dunstrone of Lubas, Dunagoil, and other forts in Arran. It is also a dry-built, irregular, circular structure, composed of the stones lying at hand, some of which measure 3 feet by 2 feet. Some parts of the wall are still *in situ*, and the walls of the doorway remain 4 feet high, being composed of large stones. In the larger diameter, north and south, it measures 87 feet; south and east only 77 feet. The internal diameter is 54 feet. The walls vary in thickness,—on the south-east side about 9 feet; north-west, at doorway, 14 feet 6 inches; north side, where the stones are piled 5 feet high, the breadth appears to have been 20 feet. The doorway piercing the wall at the north-west is barely 7 feet at the outer entrance and 10 feet at the inner. There is no appearance of wall-passages. The south-east slope is defended by two fosses.

Ardnahoe is an irregular oval plateau crowning a high conglomerate rock facing Scalpsie Bay, and measuring about one quarter of an acre. On the land side it has been defended by a substantial rampart, 126 feet long, semi-oval in form, and composed of earth and stones, few of the latter remaining.

Carnahouston, on the confines of the farms of Ambrismore and Ardnahoe, was formerly a stone fort raised on the plateau overlooking Scalpsie Bay, and opposite *Dun Scalpsie*. All

that remains of it is an irregular circular mound about 70 feet in diameter, on which a few stones lie scattered (Blain, p. 37). The stones were removed for building purposes in the beginning of this century.

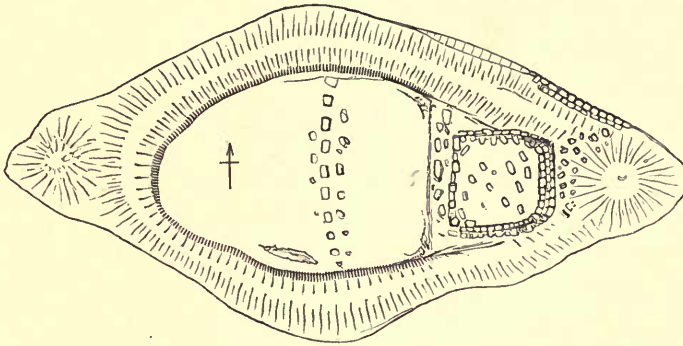
Clachcarnie, or Clachan Ard, on Ardscaipsie farm, is a small fortified enclosure on a bold rock looking down on the sound between Bute and Inchmarnock. The wall is a semi-oval work defending the S.S.E. side, and with a natural breastwork on the opposite side enclosing an oval space, in the longer diameter 72 feet, in the shorter 54. The wall, now cast down, has been 12 feet thick, and formed of the big stones plentifully lying at hand.

Dunstrone is a high rock surmounting the Sound of Bute, on the same ragged ridge as Dunagoil. Its eastern side is a wild precipitous cliff; the western is a steep grassy slope; the northern is a red sandstone cliff; the southern is steep but accessible, and by it is access to the top. The crest was crowned by an oval stone fort, measuring 77 feet by 42 feet in diameters. The wall seems to have been 4 feet thick. The contour of the western face is fortified by a strong dry-built outwork, now thrown into confusion. Parallel to this, farther down the slope, at distances varying from 9 feet to 4 feet, is a second wall, and many of the stones of both walls are yet *in situ*.

The forts of Dunagoil, Ardnahoe, Carnahouston, Scalpsie, and Barone are in view of Dunstrone.

Mecknock, according to Blain (p. 91), "was a stone encampment on the confines of the farms of Nether Kilmory and Mecknock, which went by the name of The Fort: its materials were removed not many years ago towards building dykes on the first-named of these farms."

Castle Cree is a remarkable stronghold perched upon a huge clay-slate rock, almost perpendicular on three sides, which rises 50 feet above a meadow close to the west shore of Bute upon the farm of Upper Ardrosdale. On the fourth side the rock is separated from the high ridge east of it by a deep natural fosse, not exhibited in the following illustration. The top of the rock slopes to the west, and round a large portion of its rugged irregular brow the walls of the fortification have been deftly built, wherever a foundation was secure, so as to include as much free space on the crest as possible.



Ground-plan of Castle Cree.

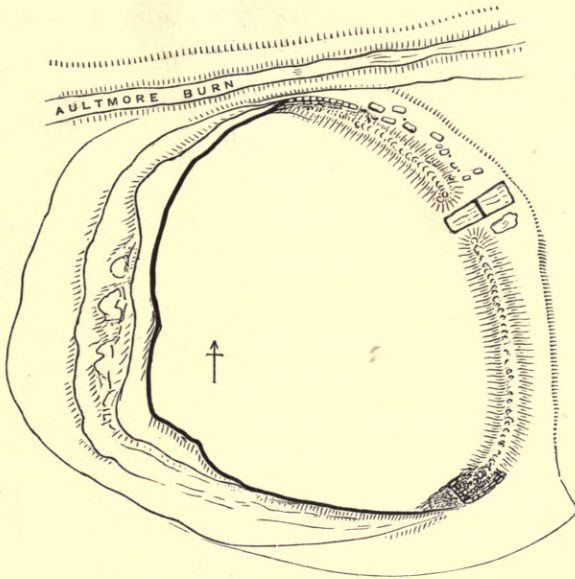
A view of this almost heart-shaped site leads me to suppose that the configuration of the ground suggested a name for the castle,—*Cridhe*, which is pronounced *Cree*, being the Gaelic for a heart. Parts of the walls are thrown into confused heaps, but at the eastern apex (the easiest assailed portion) the building is quite entire, and gives proof of the immense strength of the fort, that section of wall being over 20 feet thick. Here, within, three portions of the wall still stand, to the height of 4 or 5 feet, being substantially built of moderate-sized stones cleft from the adjoining rocks,—ap-

parently forming a chamber (or a tower 11 feet in diameter internally). These walls all round are 11 feet thick, and have no cementing medium. Without excavating I cannot determine exactly whether the fort covered the entire rock or only a part of it, being oval in form, but I incline to the latter idea. The accompanying plan will illustrate the present condition of this interesting ruin. It is also called Macrae Castle ('Landmarks,' p. 303) and Mackie's Castle (Blain, p. 91).

Bicker's Houses.—On a ridge of the heathy muirland between Barmore Hill and Kilmory Hill, looking down upon Loch Quien and Scalpsie Bay are remains of what evidently has been an oval fort. It has not hitherto been mentioned by writers on Bute, or marked on the Ordnance Survey. In its internal diameter, from north to south, it measures 116 feet; from east to west, 99 feet. Both on the northern and southern segments the walls are distinctly visible, and in the southern part, where the doorway has been, two or three courses of the wall are still standing. Here the wall is not so thick (4 feet) as on the northern side, where it is 8 feet thick. Such dimensions lead to the conclusion that it had been a fort. Strong walls in the vicinity have probably used up the larger stones of which it was composed.

Aultmore (great stream) is a stronghold or place of refuge, singularly situated on the south side of the precipitous declivity overlooking the gorge of Aultmore burn in Kilmichael farm. A strong dry-stone wall, now overgrown with grass, brackens, and whins, 76 feet long, forming the arc of a circle, cuts off an irregular oval area, quite inaccessible on the other segments of the circle. This wall is 12 feet 9 inches thick on the south side, where it is fully exposed. At the

distance of 30 feet from the northern extremity it has been pierced by a doorway, to all appearances 3 feet wide. Lying in this doorway is a magnificent micaceous schist monolith, 8 feet 7 inches long, tapering from 22 inches to 18 inches broad, and 8 inches thick. In the middle, evidence of an



Ground-plan of Aultmore Fort.

attempt to halve the stone by cutting are visible. The diameter of the area, north-east and south-west, is 60 feet; south-east and north-west, 50 feet. On the south side the wall is nearly 6 feet above the level of the fosse.

Cnoc-an-coigreach (hill of the strangers) was a circular stone fort on Auchantirie farm, removed about fifty years ago to build dykes and drains. The stance is visible yet, and the plough sometimes turns up the "founds." A tradition says

a chapel stood here. In the same field several cists containing skulls have been found.

Ardmaleish Fort was a dry-stone fort in sight of Eilean Buidhe, which formerly stood on a crest between the farmhouse and Ardmaleish Point. According to Blain (p. 114), it was removed to build dykes: "Among the ruins were found two pairs of querns or handmills, indicating that the aborigines were not only acquainted with the raising of corn but knew how to convert it into meal towards their subsistence. The only other discovery worthy of remark was a few of the lower steps of two stairs, provided for the convenience of the people when they had occasion to ascend the wall." The circular foundations are partly visible, and it seems to have been 80 feet in diameter.

Drumgirvan, according to Blain (p. 117), was an oblong war-station a mile south-east of Barone Hill. On a rocky ridge overlooking Barone farm and Loch Fad, on the boundary of Auchamore wood, are the distinct remains of walls built on the rocky ground as a defence to what seems to have been a "fank" or "stell" for cattle. On the west side there is a deep trench behind the wall. The circular wall round the fold has been of turf. From the irregular outline of these works I conclude that this place of retreat had been improvised in a hurried manner, perhaps in more modern times. The Ordnance Survey omits it.

Barone Fort.—The crest of Barone Hill (529 feet) is encircled by the remains of a very strong fortification, dry-built with the stones easily procured out of the slate-rock of which the hill is composed. The stronghold has enclosed an oval area, 200 feet in diameter east and west, and 145 north and south. The wall has varied in thickness from

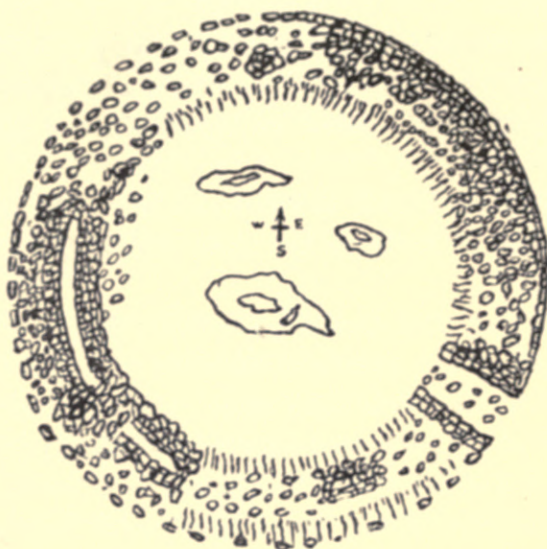
10 to 12 feet. While the greater part of it is dismantled, a good specimen of it is afforded on the south-east side, where the massive stones remain *in situ* to the height of over 3 feet, and give indication of an attempt to vitrify them. The steep rocky ascent on the northern face rendered a wall so heavy less necessary, and in consequence the foundation of it there is less distinct.

An outer defensive wall, of no less massive proportions, had been thrown round the fort in the shape of a lozenge, so as to completely utilise the natural strategic position of the rocky summit.

To this secure retreat, as afterwards falls to be narrated, the burgesses of Rothesay and their families fled in times of hazard.

Dunburgidale (*Dun*, Goidelic, a hill-fort; *Burg*, Teutonic, a fortified place; *Dál*, Cymric, a folk-mote, or *Dail*, Goidelic, a valley).—This compound word gives traces of the successive occupants of the stronghold—Brythons, Goidels, and Northmen. It is a circular stone fort situated in a hollow on the ridge of hills overlooking the valley of North Bute and the Bay of Rothesay. It lies above Acholter farm. It occupies a naturally round rock with steep grassy approaches, and is in view of other forts on the island and mainland. There are no outer defences. The walls are dry-stone, built with the material scattered in the vicinity, but are much thrown down, without, however, destroying the outline of the fort. The stones are not larger than those used in ordinary dykes. On the north side a portion of the wall, 6 feet high, is still in good condition. The N. and S. diameter is 90 feet; E. and W. 93; the inner 67. The walls measure from 10 to 14 feet thick, and are tunnelled on the west side by a passage 2 feet 3

inches broad and still 2 feet 6 inches deep. This passage was exposed on the fort being carefully opened by the Marquess of Bute. The doorway pierces the E.S.E. wall, which is 14 feet thick, being in the inner side 6 feet broad, in the outer about 10 feet broad. The illustration will better explain this interesting fort, which is similar to a broch.



Ground-plan of Dunburgidale Fort.

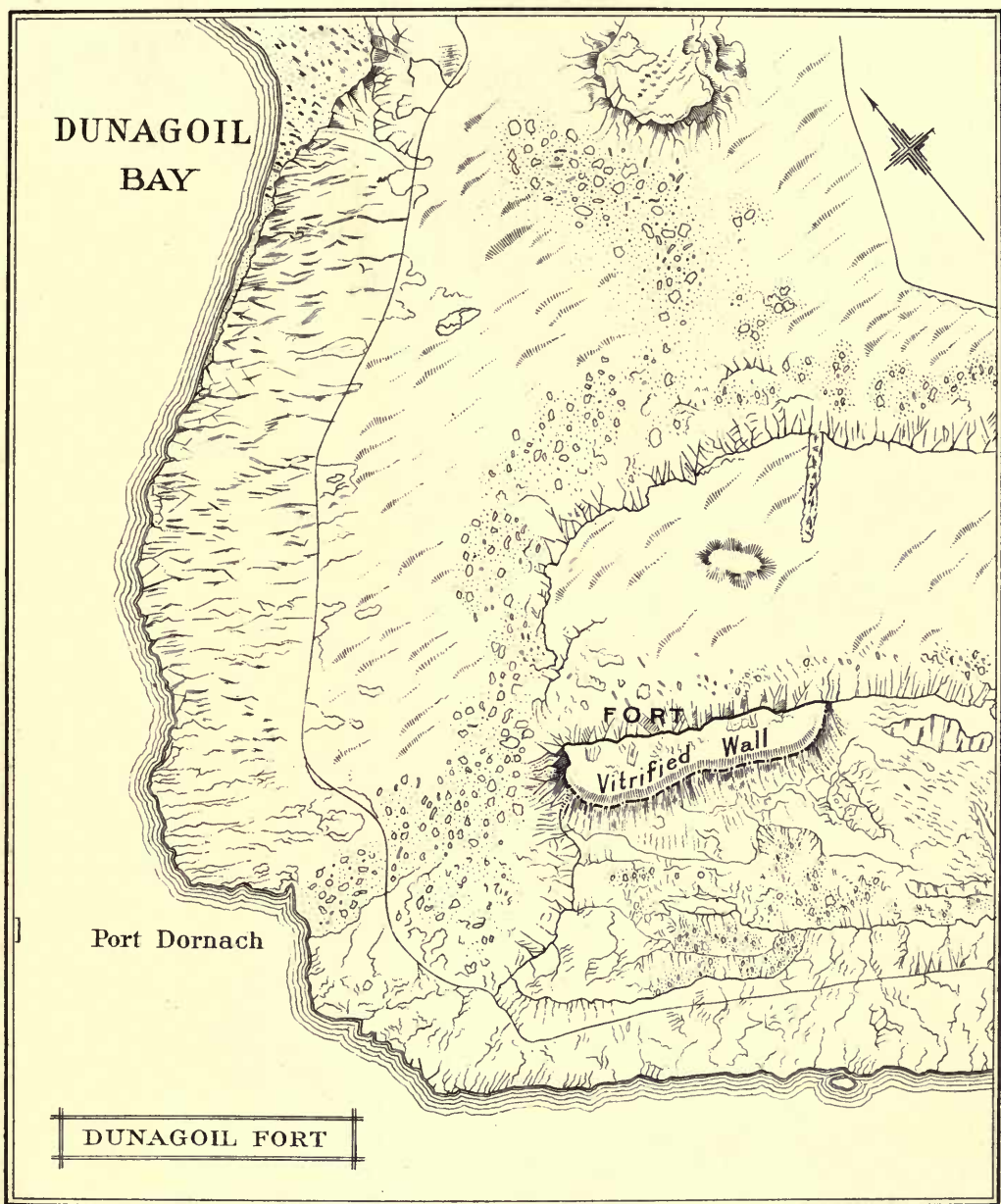
Balilone is marked on the Ordnance Survey as a circular cairn on the crest of the peninsula which juts into the north end of Loch Fad. At no distant date this peninsula was an island. In wet seasons it is so still. It was eminently suited for a stronghold, being a steep rocky ridge on three sides, about 40 feet high. The fort, for such it was, is of oval shape, to suit the ground, and, roughly speaking, measures 84 feet from north to south, and 60 feet from east to west. Parts of

DUNAGOIL
BAY

Port Dornach

FORT
Vitrified Wall

DUNAGOIL FORT





the walls are still *in situ*, and seem only to have been about 4 feet thick, but in places are built to the edge of the rock. Traces of small houses or built-retreats are visible within the wall: to obtain a proper estimate of the fort an excavation is necessary. On the west or land side of the island, where the natural defences are weakest, two very strong parallel walls, composed of huge stones, run southward for over 100 yards. Across the middle of the island another strong wall is seen, meeting a wall running south on the east side. These enclosures bear signs of cultivation in former times. According to the Ordnance Survey a quern and arrow-heads were found on this spot. A little west of the fort is the stance of a steading overshadowed by three old sycamore-trees, which Dr Maclea in his Visiting Book for 1774 marks as "Baileanloine waste" and tenantless.

Dunagoil Fort.—The south-west point of Bute is a very rugged and precipitous ridge of porphyritic trap running parallel to the coast-line, N.N.W., and, at that part called Dunagoil, terminating in a small grass-grown plateau, rising above the sea 100 feet, and on three sides quite inaccessible.

On the north a face of perpendicular rock, columnar in formation, sinks into a little grassy dale,—once enclosed with walls,—wherein remain two cairns and two prehistoric graves, opened and found to contain human remains in the beginning of this century.¹ The westerly front drops sheer down upon the rough coast-land. The side extending to the S.S.E. is more of a rocky slope stretching downward

¹ Blain's 'History of Bute,' p. 78.

to the parallel crest of rugged rocks, swilled by the sea ; at the point there a capacious cave, yielding no "finds" as yet, pierces the headland.

The access to the crest was apparently from the east-most corner, but on the southern side facing the sea the wall is pierced by a gateway 8 feet broad. This indicates



View of Dunagoil (from the west).

that here was the access from or egress to Port Dornach below.

The upper contour of the side running to the S.S.E. is guarded by the crumbling ruins of a wall, which gives evidences of having been vitrified from end to end, although only here and there the vitrified portions are still *in situ*. The slope beneath is confusedly covered with the fragments of

rocks and such *débris* of the fused wall as has not rolled into the hollow beneath.

The form of the crest within the fort is seen from the accompanying plan. (See Plate VI.)¹ A rich dark soil covers the crest, and in the scooped-out stances of former dwelling-places nettles grow in wild profusion.

The wall itself, laid down in the shape of a bow, measures 285 feet in length, and generally speaking is 6 feet in thickness,—the greatest height of any part remaining being a little over 4 feet. This wall is built of the stone of which the rocky site is composed, and a few gathered stones. Some of the blocks in the wall measure over 2 feet long. Some of them bear no trace of fire-action, others are reddened, many are reduced to *scoriæ* or slag, while the remainder are roasted, glazed, or fused singly, or bound into solid masses throughout the line of the wall. At the south-west side, where the doorway is, the remanent stones have least felt the fierce fires of the vitrifying builder; but below this portion, on the slope, are scattered the roasted lumps of vitrescible matter defying disintegration.

The most intact part of the wall, at the western extremity, is not vitrified through and through, but the *fused part* juts into the loose masonry which forms a backing to it—the vitreous stream having run into the interstices of the dry-built wall to form holdfasts, or simply penetrating like a wedge. Consequently when the front face is undermined, by the weather eating away the mould, or cattle displacing it, the vitrified blocks above being left to rest on movable foundations, are easily detached, and by their centres of gravity

¹ By Mr James Kay, forester to the Marquess of Bute.

becoming displaced are toppled over. This accounts for the destruction of the upper portions of building otherwise so indestructible. Fortunately some of the lower parts of the wall are preserved, and from it we see that the fusing fires have only put a hard face upon the rampart. I am indebted to Mr Honeyman, architect, for two sketches of sections of the wall at Dunagoil, exhibiting the union of the vitrification to the uncemented masonry.¹

The fusing has been most effective at the western extremity of the wall, and this I account for by the fact that, when the prevailing wind here—the south-west wind—was utilised to

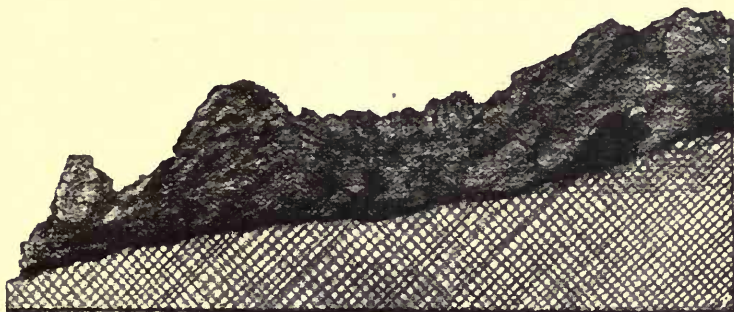


Sections of Vitrified Wall, Dunagoil.

feed the fires playing on the outer face, the direction of the tongues of flame would be the same as that in which we find the vitrification greatest. Indeed, where the flame of this hot-blast—terrific at times, if so needed—was blown right through the angle of the wall at the westerly point, there the vitreous infusion is deepest, the vitrification most complete, and the material most compacted. This western part of the wall is 47 feet long. At its broadest portion it measures 5 feet 6 inches of solid vitrification in breadth, and 4 feet 4 inches in height. At the back of this mass lies a regularly built

¹ 'Note on a Vitrified Fort at Rhufresan, Ardmarnock, Argyleshire.' By John Honeyman, F.R.I.B.A. 1886.

wall 3 feet 6 inches broad, the stones of which have also been subjected to fire, however without being fused. These stones resemble in size those used in ordinary dyke-building. The interstices between them are now filled with earth. I observe in the Eilean Buidhe Fort (see below) a similar proof that the vitrification is greatest exactly at those points where the strongest wind—in this instance the south-east wind, by the reason of the situation of the hills, blown up the Kyles as



West View of Vitrified Wall at Dunagoil.

(Traced from a photograph. The under portion represents grass-grown rock.)

through the nozzle of a bellows—impinged upon the wall ; an observation which may also account for the imperfect fusion of parts of the structure.

Eilean Buidhe (the yellow isle), one of the Burnt Islands, lies to the north of Bute in the Kyles of Bute, and is crowned with the remains of a vitrified fort. The islet, composed of gneiss, is 21 feet above sea-level, and covered with scanty vegetation upon the summit only. The fort is a complete circle, 67 feet in diameter from crest to crest of the ruined wall, which in many parts is quite levelled and overgrown with rough grass, through which the fragments of the vitrified

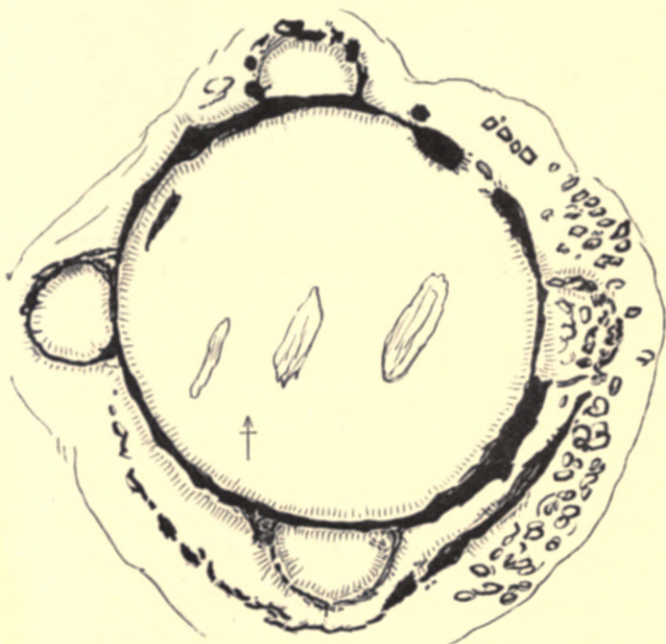
work appear. At other points the wall is in good preservation, showing at the north-east a face 4 feet high and 5 feet



Section of Vitrified Wall on Eilean Buidhe (northern segment).

thick, and also on the south-east a solid mass of vitrification over 5 feet thick.

What is a remarkable feature of this fort is the apparent



Ground-plan of Vitrified Fort on Eilean Buidhe.

stances of four towers at the cardinal points of the compass. Unless the upper portions of the wall in toppling over had

occupied the ground in such a way that the material was ready to be utilised in later times for these little breastworks, a look of the ground is sufficient to suggest that there existed four little towers 14 feet each in diameter. And unless the south-west wall in falling only rolled down the bank a few feet, there has been an outwork on this, the most assailable side.

The doorway has been through the wall at the E.N.E. point, where the defence was strongest.

It is noticeable that the vitrification is best illustrated on the eastern half of the circle, and at those points where the blast, confined within the throat of the Kyles, was blown from the south-east with pointed, concentrated, and penetrating violence upon the masonry. It would be significant if the outer part of the wall on the south-east, and the inner part of the wall on the north-east, showed more traces of liquefaction than other portions, since at Dunagoil the most vitrified material is found in the direction of the prevailing wind.

In the body of the wall are seen stones which have not yielded to the fire, but, rendered friable, have been banded to the vitrescible stones by the vitreous stream.

How or when these vitrified structures came into existence we have no historical record. The methods employed by the fort builders in vitrification are also unknown. Blain declares that at Dunagoil fragments of charcoal were found in the interstices of the fused material. There can be no doubt whatever that the ancients thoroughly understood the smelting of mineral and the fusion of igneous material, and that they applied this knowledge to the class of structures under our review.

Vitrified building was long a mystery to both the scientific

and antiquarian worlds. Mr Williams, a mineral surveyor, drew attention to the subject over a century ago, and came to the conclusion that the vitrification was intentional, so as to form a cement to strengthen the structure, an opinion homologated by Dr Macculloch. Mr Pennant ascribed them to volcanic origin: Lord Woodhouselee, who made an exhaustive study of the subject, thought the fusion was the result of accident in an assault by fire upon the forts: Sir George Mackenzie attributed them to the effects of beacon-fires.

Dr Hibbert, in a learned paper, after a full investigation into the subject, came to conclusions which may be simplified thus: ¹—

1. That vitrification is neither the result of volcanic agency (*i.e.*, the theory of Pennant, West, Barington) nor the result of a regular fabrication to form a cement (Williams, 1777).
2. That Lord Woodhouselee's theory (1787), that vitrification may have resulted from conflagration of wooden ramparts, is not established.
3. That the number of vitrified sites is referable to an extravagant consumpt of fuel when Scotland was densely wooded.
4. That if vitrification resulted from fires used in national observances, the vitrified sites will bear diversified characteristics.
5. Some vitrified sites were popular rendezvous in times of war and peace.
6. Many vitrified sites were the effects of beacon-fires, formed by piles of wood (Sir George Mackenzie).

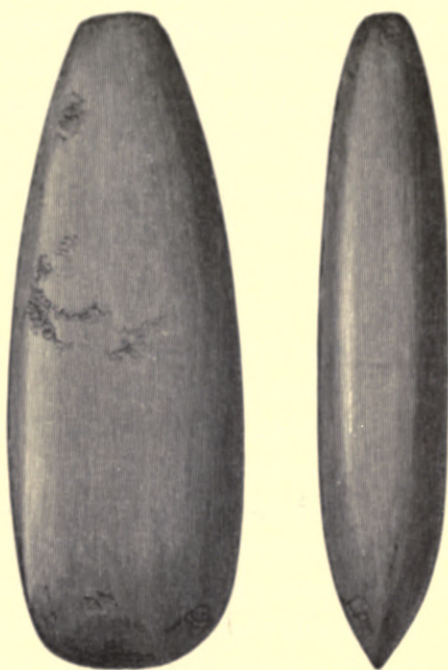
¹ 'Archæol. Scot.', vol. iv. pp. 179, 180. Edin., 1857.

7. Fires on religious or festive occasions may have produced them.
8. Most of the oldest Duns exhibit no vitrification ; vitrification is not confined to areas bounded by stone ramparts.
9. The vitrification, in some instances, is almost invisible ; in others incredibly continuous and intense.
10. The term *Vitrified Fort* is frequently erroneous, since it cannot be proved vitrification is confined to fortified sites.
11. That since vitrification is an incidental, not a designed effect, *Vitrified Forts* should be termed *Vitrified Sites*.

The *Neolithic* or later age of stone, distinguished by its graves, cromlechs, dolmens, passage-graves, cists with bodies unburnt, and pile-dwellings, is more fully illustrated. By this time men had discovered the method of polishing their stone implements and giving them a fine finish. A few of these have been found and preserved. An exquisite specimen of a stone axe was found by Mr N. Duncan on Ambrisbeg Hill in 1870. It is now in the possession of Mrs Wm. Hunter, London. It measures $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches broad at its broadest part, the face is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, the thin end 1 inch broad, it is 2 inches thick, and $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches in girth at the broadest part. It is composed of diorite. Others have been found at Lochend, Greenan, and Loch Greenan, but have disappeared.

Many *kistvaens*, or stone chests, have been opened throughout the island, but unfortunately no accurate account of their contents exist, and it is impossible to state which of them

belonged to the Neolithic, which to later ages. They are, however, arranged as far as possible, previously, in a table, and appear to have existed, for the most part, since the Bronze and early Iron Ages. Generally speaking, in the Neolithic Age the body was buried in a *kist* in a sitting or contracted

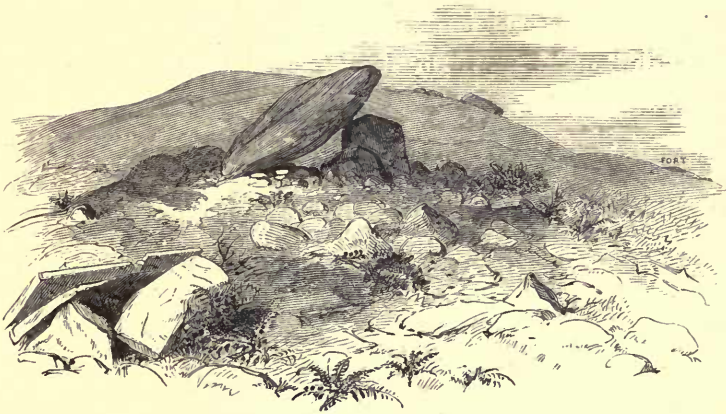


Stone Axe found on Ambrisbeg Hill.

posture ; in the Bronze Age it was cremated and the ashes placed in an urn ; in the Iron Age it was laid at length.

In the hollow between Barmore Hill and Kilmory Hill what seems to have been a *dolmen* (Celt, *daul*, a table ; *maen*, a stone—table-stone) or table, composed of two large unhewn stones, supporting a flat stone, is visible at a place called

Bicker's Houses. It stands, as figured here, on a bracken-covered mound among a congeries of stones of all sizes, like the rubbish-heap of a quarry, which, despite the confusion in which they lie, indicate they have been formerly used in some strong edifices. At one part it seems as if there had been a wall not less than 8 feet thick, at another about 4 feet. In the southern foreground a rifled sepulchral cist, 3 feet 6 inches long and 2 feet broad, is found. The table-stone itself is a rugged oval, now resting on the western point of its longer



View of Dolmen at Bicker's Houses.

diameter, which measures 7 feet, with 6 feet for the shorter. It is a huge flake of the slate-rock cropping up around, and is 21 inches thick. The stone which now supports it is 42 inches long, 28 inches broad, and 24 inches thick. Close by are the silent ruins of human habitations, beside the sheep-folds constructed of the stones so conveniently gathered by the men of a past age, who then largely populated this retired quarter. The fort on the hill-crest was their warlike work.

Memorial Stones (Celt., *menhir*—*maen*, a stone; *hir*, long.

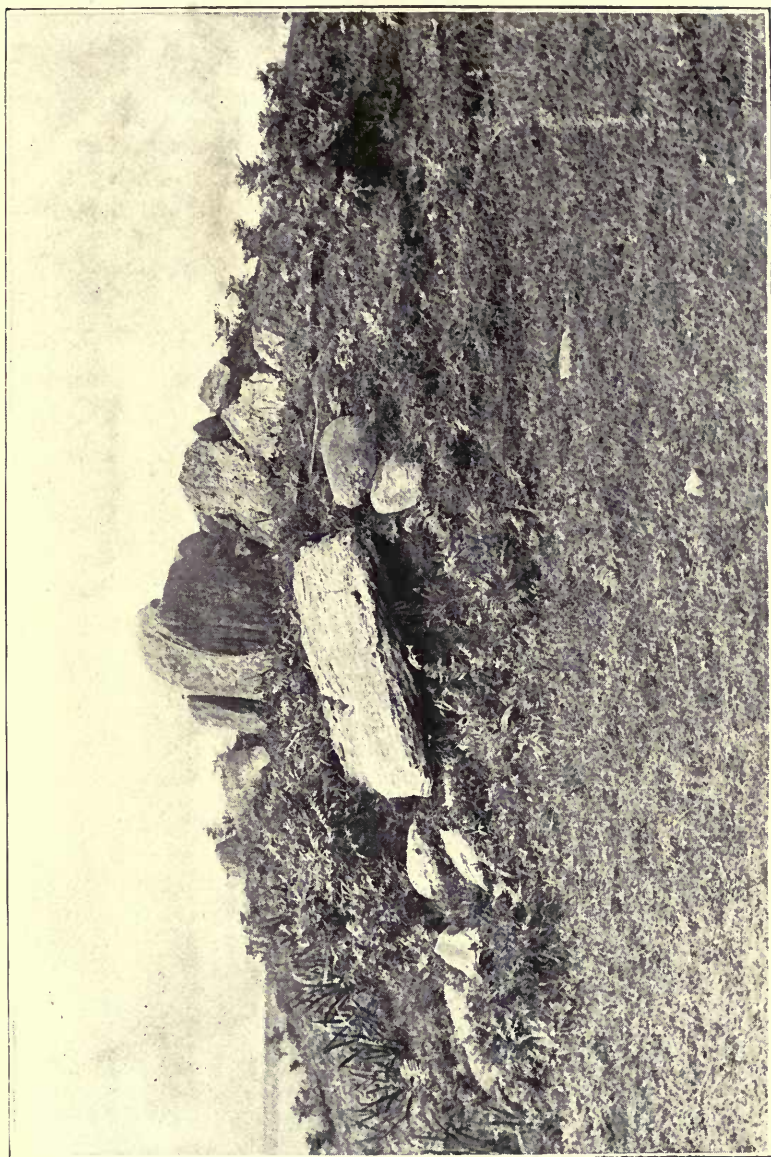
Scandinavian, *Bautastones*).—Of upright stones, probably reared to perpetuate the memory of some now forgotten famous personage or striking event, still a few are left—at Largizean (3), Craighbiorach, Acholter, East Colmac, Ardma-leish, St Ninian's Point, Skipper's Wood, Aultmore. None of them are marked with runes or cups, and neither history nor tradition breaks their silence.

Michael's Grave, as it is locally known, is undoubtedly the ruined remnant of a very fine dolmen. It consists of a mound some 10 feet high, on the brow of a field, 600 yards south of Kilmichael farm, in the field adjoining the chapel, in North Bute, crowned by large clay-slate stones, evidently the pedestal of the table-stone now lying beneath them (in the foreground of the illustration). On the south side these stones are five in number and placed side by side, nearly east and west, the largest being 4 feet 3 inches high. On the north side one much smaller stone is *in situ*, the rest have been displaced.

The table-stone is an irregular oval, 6 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 6 inches and 9 inches thick. The mound has apparently been rifled when the table-stone was overthrown.

Various theories prevail as to what these Dolmens (or Cromlechs—*i.e.*, circle or crooked stones) are. Sir Daniel Wilson says: "We have no satisfactory evidence that these are Celtic monuments. The tendency of our present researches leads to the conclusion that they are not, but that they are the work of an elder race, of whose language we have little reason to believe any relic has survived to our day."¹ Formerly antiquarians supposed that these dolmens

¹ 'Archæol. and Prehist. Ann. of Scot.,' p. 68.



MICHAEL'S GRAVE.



were the altars on which the victims were sacrificed by the Druid priests :—

“ Here blazed the sacred fire, and, when the sun was gone,
As a star from afar to the traveller it shone ;
And the warm blood of the victim have these grey old temples drunk,
And the death-song of the Druid, and the matin of the monk.”

Now, however, one prevailing opinion is that their use as sacrificial slabs was a development of their original purpose as sepulchres—a perfect type of which tomb was a cist or chamber (formed like a rude house from which the spirit had escaped), covered with a mound, and surrounded by a ring of great stones. Sometimes this symbolical house of the dead was left open, and the cist was near at hand. At Bicker's Houses the exposed cist is 20 feet from the Dolmen. There is, however, nothing improbable in the supposition that even in the Viking age the Norse colonists may have erected or utilised this as a *hörg* or altar built of stones, which, generally speaking, was reared on a sacrificing mound or height. Thus the Saga narrates how—

“ He made me a hörg
Reared of stones ;
Now have these stones
Become gler [as glass].
He reddened it in
Fresh ox blood.
Ottar believed
Always in Asynjur.”¹

The very name Bicker's Houses, the history of which I have not traced, has a Norse ring about it. The Northmen

¹ ‘The Viking Age,’ Du Chaillu, vol. i. p. 356.

also broke the backs of their human victims on a stone called "Thor's Stone," or the "blood-stone." To later times superstitious people have retained some primitive custom of passing through the apertures in these dolmens in the belief that this form of piety would ward off the visitations of evil spirits, and provoke the grace of a happy Providence for the future.

The Bronze Age, especially the *later* portion of it, is not without representation in the barrows, stone cists with their urns, and the bronze weapons which have been discovered in Bute. Of the earlier period when stone was giving place to metal, and when the dead were laid singly unburnt in cists under round or oblong barrows, the want of accurate information regarding the graves opened leaves nothing to be said.

The Watchhill on Upper Ardroscaidale was, on excavation a few years ago, found to be a grave-mound, composed of stones from the shore and earth, in the centre of which was a cist containing fragments of bones, and what seems to have been, from its description, the remains of a bronze sword.

The most interesting grave of this early period is that exposed, on 23d March 1887, within Mountstuart policies, close beside the West Lodge, above Kerrycroy burn. In a letter to Dr Anderson of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Marquess of Bute writes regarding the discovery :—

"The surface presented some irregularities which I had always looked on as a natural hillock, but which, I am now inclined to think, must be the remains of a tumulus. About 18 inches below the surface the men came upon a large rough slab of red conglomerate.

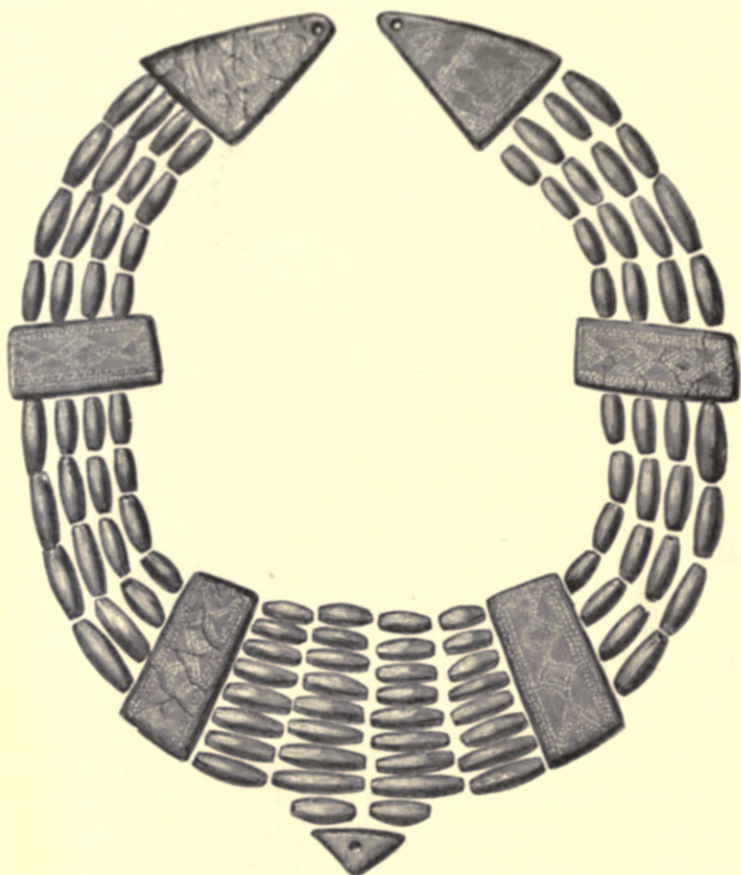
crate substance, 5 feet long by 3 feet 3 inches wide and about 6 inches thick. It must have been brought from the sea-shore, about a quarter-mile distant. It rested upon six weather-worn flattish stones set upon their ends—two at the head, two at the feet, and one at each side. Although the actual receptacle for the corpse was thus not entirely defended, it was very partially filled. When I looked in at first it appeared to be about three-quarters filled with sea-worn pebbles and sand. At the north-east corner appeared one-half of a funeral urn, which had fallen over eastward, and towards the south-west corner the face and left brow of the skull. We carefully removed the urn. There was nothing in it but pebbles and sand and a small piece of cinder. We then took away the large covering-stone and endeavoured to move the body, but hardly anything remained of it, and what there was came to pieces in our hands. The teeth are very fine. You will notice a peculiar perforation in the left temple, which I opine may mark the place of the wound by which the deceased was killed. Close to this perforation is some hard black adherent matter which I do not understand.

The head lay on its right cheek, looking eastwards, or rather turned eastwards, and looking a little upwards. At this end the grave was filled with sand and pebbles, in which I am inclined to think the head had been purposely pillowed and partially embedded. The grave itself measures internally about 4 feet 2 inches by about 18 inches wide. The corpse had lain upon a prepared floor of sea-pebbles, sand, and gravel. There were one or two pieces of something burned under the upper part. It had been curled up, the thigh and shin bones being very close together. The remains of the decomposed bones were adhering to a great many of the pebbles with which the grave was nearly filled. Near the feet and



Cinerary Urn found at Mountstuart.

again near the head we found what seemed like the remains of a pin or skewer. The urn was at the north-east corner. In the place where the hands had been, in front of the chin, there was a very small piece of corrupt bronze, perhaps the remains of a ring.



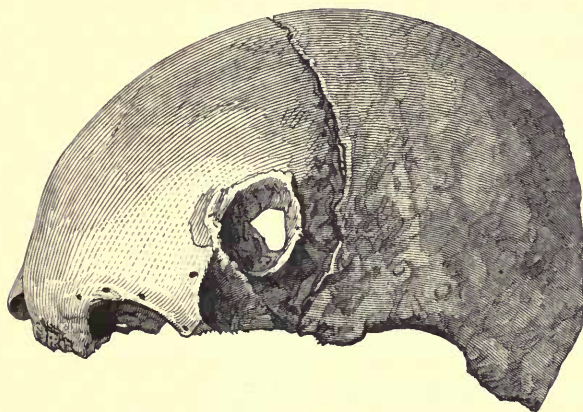
Jet Necklace found at Mountstuart.

Under where the neck had been, we found 100 jet beads of different sizes, along with six larger pieces which had gone to make up the necklace. There must have been four rows in the outer divisions of this ornament and eight in the central. There is also one small

perforated triangular piece of jet. The large stone on the east side, which lay almost in the lap of the corpse, may, I think, have been pushed forward in process of time by the pressure above and behind.”¹

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, held on 14th December 1891, Dr Munro, the secretary, read a paper upon these remains, which he referred to the early Bronze Age :—

“The bones having been submitted to Dr Beddoe, he gave it as his opinion that they were those of a young woman. The skull has a small perforation on the left side of the frontal bone about an inch from the outer angle of the eye-orbit. The exterior edge of the cavity, which measures about an inch in diameter, is slightly raised



Trepanned Skull found at Mountstuart.

above the normal surface of the surrounding bone, this feature being the result of a pathological process which could only take place in the living body. The actual perforation, which does not exceed three-quarters of an inch in diameter, takes the form of a bluntly defined triangle bounded by thin edges. The conclusion is that this perforation had been intentionally performed on the living

¹ ‘Glasgow Herald,’ March 25, 1887.

subject, and that the subject survived the operation for a considerable time, probably for many years. The generalisation which it was the object of the author to establish—viz, that trepanning the human skull for therapeutic purposes was not an uncommon surgical operation among the neolithic inhabitants of Europe—could only be established on a number of examples widely distributed. To this Scottish example he therefore proceeded to add about twenty Continental examples distributed over almost the whole of Europe. In the course of this description the curious fact was noted that the pieces cut out of the skull were worn as amulets. Professor Struthers agreed with Dr Munro that the skull from Mountstuart was that of a female, and that the perforation was made during life. Professor Duns exhibited the skull of a man of mature age from an ancient grave, which had been trepanned.”¹

I examined, on April 10, 1889, two cists in the Mid-field, Auchantirie, close to each other on the crown of the field beside Cnoc-an-Coigreach. They both lay exactly east and west in their greatest length. The top slab of the first measured 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet; the slabs forming the sides were 31 inches inside and 14 inches; the cist being 13½ inches deep. What seemed burned ashes alone strewed the bottom. A heart-shaped slab covered the other cist, which measured within 28 inches by 19 broad, by 13½ deep. The brown dust betokened cremation, but the perfect skull of a young person gave no similar indications. The upper jaw contained a few back teeth, under which new teeth were found projecting out the old. No implements were found.

The adjoining field contains many cists of the same kind.

¹ ‘Scotsman,’ 15th December 1891. Cf. ‘Fortnightly Review,’ February 1893. On August 9, 1892, at the meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh, Dr Howden read a paper supplied by Dr Robert Munro on the subject of “Trepanning the Human Skull in Prehistoric Times,” and referred to the Mountstuart skull.

Tumuli, or mounds of earth, or cairns of stones covered with earth,—a few in number,—remain undisturbed by the ruthless ploughshare, and still possessing their hidden contents. These represent labour, and as only the influential and mighty could command this, we may conclude that all these mounds and cairns cover a popular personage, or a leader of men, in

“A little urn—a little dust inside,
Which once outbalanced the large earth, albeit
To-day a four-years’ child might carry it.”

These *tumuli* are tabulated at the beginning of this chapter.

There are several important monuments of a prehistoric age which might with propriety be referred to the earliest epoch, including the stone cells at Lenihuline, as well as the stone circles at Blackpark-Kingarth and Colmac, all of which give proof of the dexterity of the aborigines in handling huge blocks.

Carnbaan, or white cairn, is one of the most remarkable relics of a bygone age which exist in Bute. It is to be found in the south-east corner of South Lenihuline Wood, close to the stream. We are indebted to Mr Blain (pp. 100, 101) for a long description of it, as it appeared at the beginning of this century, in these terms:—

“A pile of stones thrown together in a rude manner along the surface of the ground in the form of a cross, the body whereof has been about 168 feet long by about 15 in width, and the transverse about 75 feet or thereabout. Of this last little now remains, as the fence of the wood has been cut alongst it, and the most of the stones of which it was composed carried off to help in facing up the enclosure there, and in its neighbourhood. The shaft of the cross was all along formed below into cavities or chests by the placing of large broad stones at the sides, end, and bottom of each, or where

stones of sufficient size were not at hand, it was done of common masonry, without any sort of mortar ; all of them had been covered with other flat stones. They were discovered on taking away materials for the neighbouring fences, when many of them were destroyed or filled up. A few, after having been looked into, remain unfilled, and were left uncovered until about a dozen years ago, that the farmer, finding some of his sheep occasionally fell in, and, not being able to extricate themselves, perished by famine, he filled them up or had them destroyed, except one left for a specimen, but so far covered as to prevent the sheep from entering. The dimensions of it are about 4 feet long and 2 feet wide, the depth at present about 30 inches ; it may have been deeper, though now filled up with rubbish. . . . The people in the neighbourhood regard it with some degree of awe, and I was told by a farmer that apparitions are sometimes seen about it. When I questioned him concerning their form, and whether he had seen any, his answer was that they resembled a sail set upon a vessel, but added honestly that for his own part he had not beheld it. He told me that considerable numbers of adders lurked in the cairn."

After speculating upon the various uses it might have been put to, Mr Blain concludes it was "a fanciful work of some hermit who had chosen that neighbourhood for his retirement," and that it was a Christian cross.

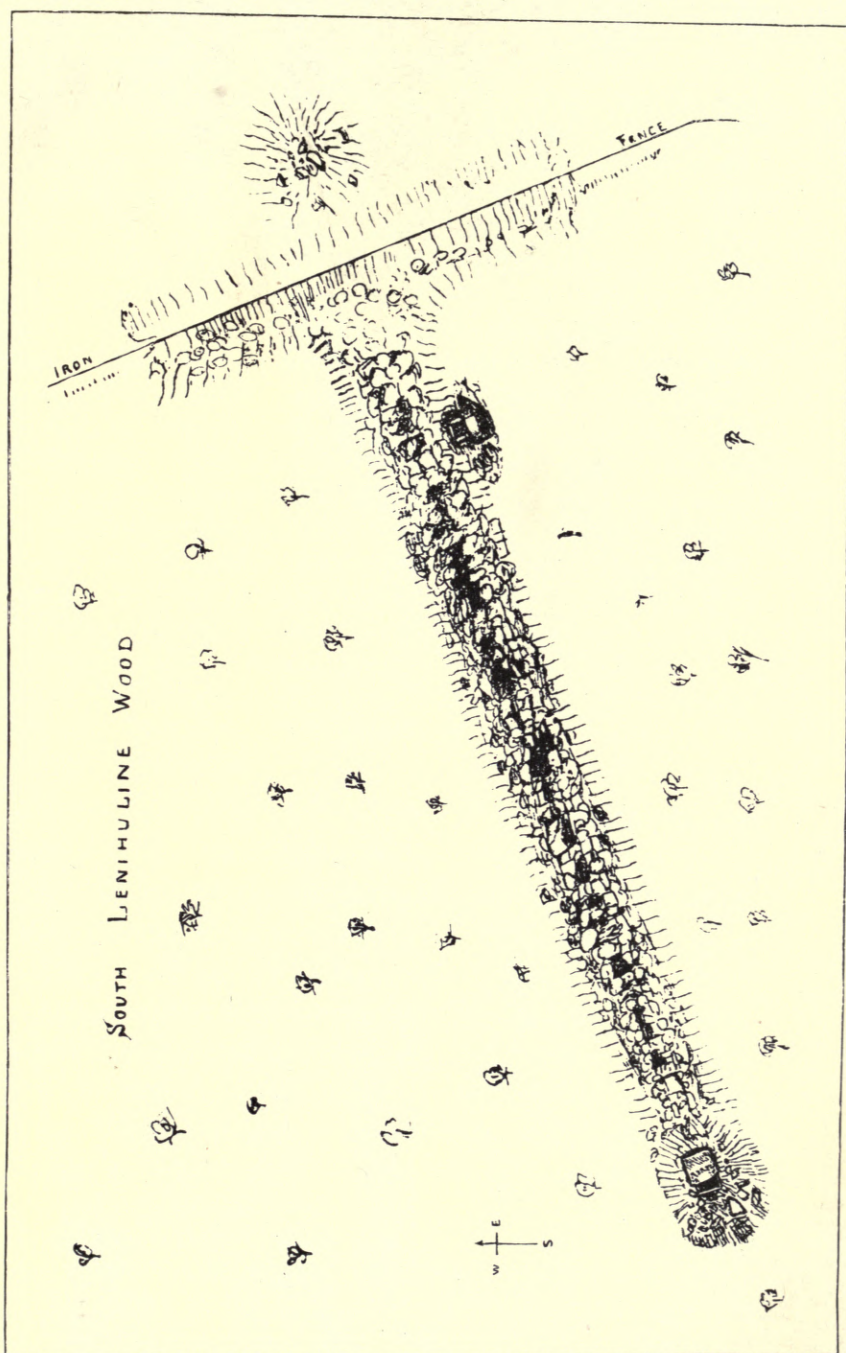
In 1858 Mr John Mackinlay thus described it :—

"This cairn, called 'Cairn-baan,'—*i.e.*, the White Cairn—is situated in the east end of the south wood of Lenihuline—the Field of Hollies—in the north end of Bute. It consists of a mound of stones 200 feet in length, lying east and west, and from 15 to 24 feet in breadth. Near its east end there is a transverse piece, like the transom of a cross, 47 feet in length. When the wood was enclosed, many years ago, the portion of the stem of the cross (about 25 feet in length) above the transom, which projected beyond the line of fence of the wood, was removed, and its materials were used in the construction of the fence ; but the form and extent of the part removed was (and I believe still is) perfectly distinct, its



CARNBAAN.





CARNBAAN.



outline being defined by a line of small *débris*. At the west end of the stem of the cross there is a cell, 4 feet 6 inches long by 2 feet 3 inches wide and 3 feet deep, the top, sides, and ends of which are formed of flags of schistus. The country-people believed that there was a series of such cells all along the body of the cross; and in order to ascertain this point I took a labourer with me in summer 1833, and opened up the top of the mound all along at short intervals, and found that the whole of the mound was composed of shapeless lumps of wacken, schistus, and quartz, about the size of a man's head, and apparently brought from the channel of the burn at the bottom of the bank on which it is placed; and I could find no trace of any cells, or any flags capable of making them, except one or two near the intersection of the cross, where it is said that a cell or cells were found at the time the east end was removed.

"It may be inferred, from its being made in the form of a cross, that it was constructed after the introduction of Christianity, as a penance for some grievous offence; and that the cell at the west end, which the top flag only partially covered, leaving an opening wide enough to let a man creep in, was a place of penance, in which the offender might crouch while reciting his penitential prayers. At least this cairn does not seem capable of being used for any other purpose."¹

The writer here refers to the Borrass or Borradhs in Kilfinan, as explained in the 'Statistical Account,' vol. xiv. p. 257.

I am able, after several inspections of the cairn, to supplement and correct these details.

The cairn is now a long congeries of moss and grass grown stones, broken from the slate-rock cropping up in the vicinity, and extends within the wood 165 feet, varying in breadth from 15 feet to 19 feet over its irregular ridge, and 5 feet high. The Ordnance surveyors make the cairn terminate in a circular mound within the fence, which, as Blain states, severed

¹ "Description of a Cairn on the Island of Bute." By John Mackinlay, Esq., F.S.A. Scot. Read 13th December 1858. 'Proc. Soc. Ant,' vol. iii. p. 180-182.

the cross-head; but beyond this fence and fosse a slight mound, some 20 feet in diameter, is still visible at the east end.

The cairn declines westward. At its W.S.W. end it terminates in a circular congeries of stones, moss and grass grown, 22 feet in diameter (as shown in the illustration), in the centre of which remains a cell, partly covered with a flagstone. The cell in its greater length lies E.N.E. and W.S.W. It is composed of four great slabs set on edge, which measure as follow:—

E.N.E. 3 ft. 2 in. high \times 3 ft. 4 in. broad at floor.

S.W.S. 3 " 0 " " \times 3 " 5 " "

N. 3 " 11 " " \times 4 " 4 " " (in middle).

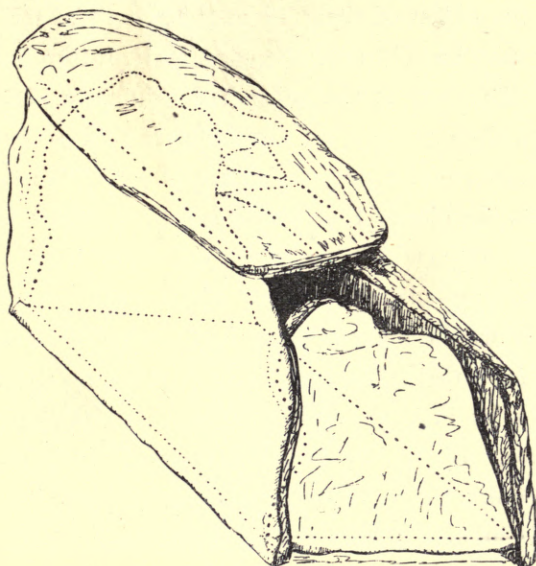
S. 3 " 0 " " \times 4 " 8 " " " (11 in. thick).

The lid measures 5 feet 9 inches long and 5 feet broad, and 5 inches thick. The aperture is 1 foot 10 inches long and 1 foot broad. All these stones are blocks of the natural rock, in no way dressed, and irregular in shape—three of the side slabs terminating in points on which the lid rested, and probably swung. The bottom of the cell is overlaid with a layer of vegetable mould, but is floored with thin flags about 1 foot square.

At a distance of 30 feet from the east end another quite intact oblong cist is exposed at the south side of the main body of the cairn, its greater length being at right angles to the direction of the cairn. It consists of four slabs set on edge, and measures internally 3 feet long, 2 feet broad, and 2 feet deep. The covering, which is a ragged triangular slab, measures 5 feet 6 inches long, 4 feet 6 inches broad (at the broadest part), and 5 inches thick, and rests partly over and upon the cist.

No fewer than fourteen cavities exist along the length of the stone-formed ridge, but it would, in their present confused

and ruined condition, be hazardous to infer whether these were each an independent cist, or only parts of a continuous passage throughout the cairn. The stones lying in these holes vary in size from 1 foot to 3 feet and more.



Plan of Cist or Cell in Carnbaan.

The purpose for which Carnbaan was gathered, and the two cists still left intact were set up, I think cannot be far to seek. It is a sepulchral monument.

Tacitus informs us that the Germans had underground dens into which they fled for safety from their enemies, to escape the cold, and wherein they stored their fruits.¹

Diodorus Siculus says of the ancient Britons: "They

¹ Tacitus, 'De Moribus Germanorum,' cap. xvi.: "Solent et subterraneos specus aperire; eosque multo, insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi, et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt; et si quando hostis advenit aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt."

dwelt in mean cottages, covered for the most part with reeds or sticks. In reaping their corn they cut off the ears from the stalk, and so house them up in repositories under ground; thence they take and pluck out the grains of as many of the oldest of them as may serve them for the day, and after they have bruised the corn, make it into bread."¹

Unless the shaft of the cairn had originally been a continuous passage, there is no suitability in this mass of small stones for so useful a purpose as a granary. The lid of the greater cist is so large that one implies it was not meant for frequent moving, which would be necessary if the cell was only a lurking-place in times of danger. From Blain's account it would appear there had been several others of a similar form throughout the cairn. These must have been much smaller in dimensions, as no very large stones are visible now. Both cists are after the type of burial-cists.

It is possible the cairn was a tribe burial-place in the early period of Christian civilisation, while the pagan form of burial still lingered side by side with belief in the cross.

The Circle in Blackpark, or Langalchorad, plantation, 580 yards distant from Kingarth Parish Church, is now (as in Blain's day, p. 67) represented by three huge stones,—one being a reddish conglomerate, the others being whin. They form a segment of a circle which must have been 86 feet in diameter, and, at the same ratio of distances between the remaining stones, must have been bounded by nine stones. From the middle stone the other two are respectively 28 feet and 30 feet distant. They measure in height, respectively, 7 feet (*i.e.*, the conglomerate), 8½ feet (the middle stone), and

¹ Bk. v. cap. ii.

7 feet. The middle stone, as shown in the illustration, is split into two halves. I have been informed by an aged lady, lately deceased, that in the beginning of this century one of



View of Stone Circle at Blackpark, Kingarth.

the stones rocked. There is a small excavation in the middle of this circle, the object of which is not ascertained.

We may say of these stones what Matthew Arnold says of "the giant stones of Carnac":—

"No priestly stern procession now
Moves through their rows of pillars old;
No victims bleed, no Druids bow—
Sheep make the daisied isles their fold.

From bush to bush the cuckoo flies,
The orchis red gleams everywhere;
Gold furze with broom in blossom vies,
The blue-bells perfume all the air."

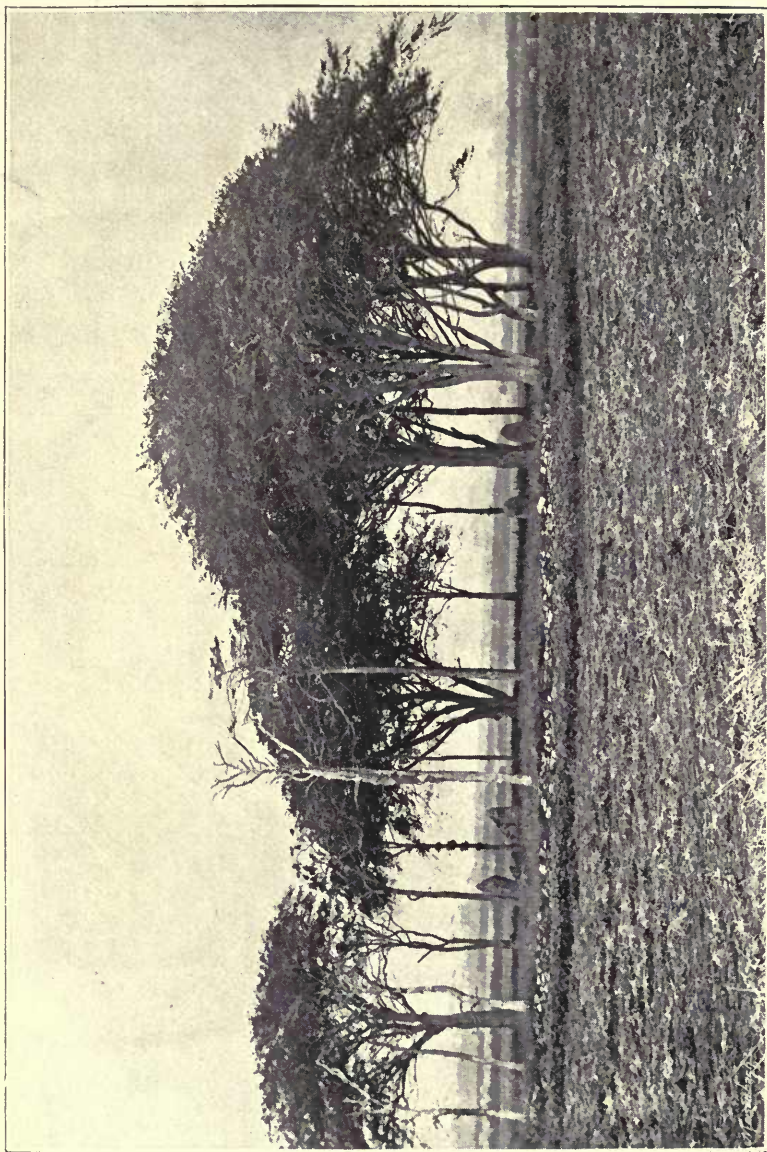
While the purposes of these circles have long occupied consideration, and the result has been to assign them various uses as temples, courts of justice, burial-places, it may not be far from the truth to view them in relation to the worship of the sun.¹ Developments might arise. A pure sun-worship might be associated with or give place to the worship of ancestors when their burial-places were surrounded with a circle. There too sacrifices, even human, would be acceptable, and the altar become a bloodstone as among the Northmen. The use of criminal victims might suggest its fitting nature for courts of doom and trial; and when all these purposes were superseded, the circle remained in use to mark the tomb of the honoured dead, with whom in most instances it was associated.

On Largizean farm, adjacent to the sea-shore, three large whinstone boulders are reared in a line, about 10 feet from each other. They measure respectively 5 feet 2 inches high by 4 feet 2 inches broad; 5 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 4 inches; 7 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 10 inches. What object they served has not been demonstrated, and it would be idle to conjecture whether they were grave-stones (*bautasteinar*), landmarks for boats, or altars (*stalli*).

In the same field, at the northern fence, several spear-heads were found.

The bronze weapons found on Lubas by the Rev. Mr M'Gill are thus described in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries': "Three bronze broad daggers or sword-blades, with rivet-holes at their broad extremities for fasten-

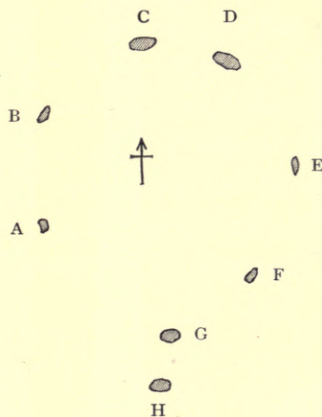
¹ Rhys, Lect. 'On Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom,' pp. 191-197. Lond., 1888. Hibbert Lectures, 1886.



STONE CIRCLE, KILMACHALMAIG.

ing the blades to the handles; they are from 10 inches to 13½ inches in length, and 3 inches in breadth at the base or widest part next the handle. One of them is much corroded. Found along with two others in the parish of Kingarth, Bute.”¹

Kilmachalmaig Circle. Almost in the centre of the lovely fertile strath stretching between North Bute Church and Ettrick Bay, exists a circular beech plantation, 460 yards direct south of South St Colmac farmhouse. Encircling almost the whole area of the plantation are the stones, which

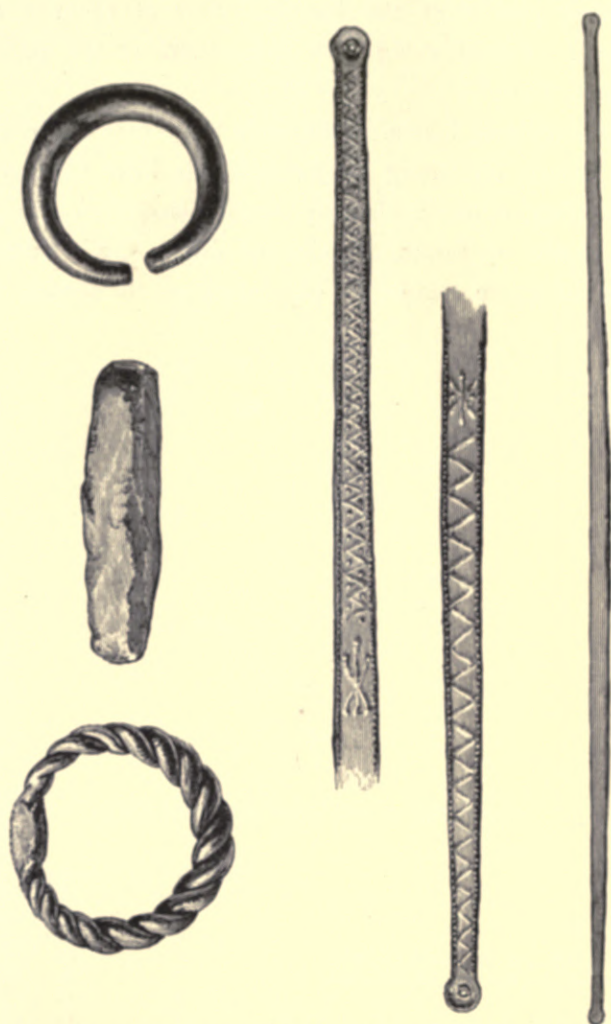


Ground-plan of Stone Circle at Kilmachalmaig.

	Distance from centre of	To centre of	Ft. In.
A, Broken	A	B,	18 0
B, Broken	B	C,	20 0
C, 7 ft. 3 in. high, 4 ft. 2 in. broad, 2 ft. thick	C	D,	13 6
D, 6 ft. 7 in. high, 5 ft. broad, 2 ft. 6 in. thick	D	E,	21 6
E, Broken	E	F,	19 0
F, Broken	F	G,	17 0
G, 5 ft. 3 in. high, 2 ft. 6 in. broad, 2 ft. 6 in. thick	G	H,	8 6
H, 5 ft. 9 in. high, 3 ft. broad, 2 ft. 8 in. thick	H	to A,	34 0

¹ 'Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scot.,' vol. iv. p. 396, 10th February 1862.

originally formed a ring 45 feet in diameter. Of these, two on the north side are quite entire, and also two on the south



Gold Rings, Fillets, and Bar of Silver found on Plan Farm, 1864.

side, one of which, however, is displaced from the circle. Other four stones are visible above the grass; but having

been of the slate-rock of the district, have been broken away.

The stone H has evidently been displaced a little. The circle when complete consisted of nine stones, and the diameter of the circle would consequently be 45 feet. No tradition nor name attaches to the circle, but it may have given part of the name to the adjoining farms of Kneslag-vourathy, Kneslaglone and Kneslagmory (*Crioslach*, Goidelic, a circle), and, indeed, the *vourathy* of the first place-name, if it could be interpreted, might throw light on the subject.

Finds. The rings, fillets, &c., referred to in the Table of Relics, as found at Plan, are thus described in the Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities, in which they are kept: "From near St Blane's Church, Bute—viz., penannular ring (190 grains); small ring of twisted wires (202 grains); fillets or bands with punctulated ornamentation; small bar of silver (228 grains), found with pennies of David I. of Scotland, Henry I. and Stephen of England—Treasure Trove, 1864.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY—
THE BRITISH CHURCH.

"O melancholy brothers, dark, dark, dark !
 O battling in black floods without an ark !
 O spectral wanderers of unholy night !
 My soul hath bled for you those sunless years,
 With bitter blood-drops running down like tears :
 O dark, dark, dark, withdrawn from joy and light."
 —" B. V."



T the time when Christianity began to contend with heathenism in the British Isles, the aboriginal inhabitants, wherever existing, practised those rites of Druidism described by Cæsar in his description of the Gauls, and by Tacitus in relation to the Brythons of Mona. Human sacrifices to the gods, and the search for auguries in the entrails of the sacrificed victims, with other detestable superstitions, characterised the Druidism practised in the dark oak-groves.¹

The Celtic Brythons seemed to have been polytheists of a more refined type, as Professor Rhys points out, worshipping great deities, corresponding to the Mercury, Apollo, Mars,

¹ Tac., 'Ann.,' xiv. 31.

Jupiter, Minerva, Dis of the classical Pantheon, as well as minor deities, divine mothers and virgins, spirits, and heroes, who were given "local habitation and a name" in prominent places and useful objects.

The Goidels in Erin introduced Druidic customs into their religion, and retained the "Drui," the "Gall-Drui" (the foreign Druid), who acted as a priest and wizard, and pretended to have a supernatural influence with the gods and over the elements. These Goidels, in St Patrick's day, were wont to worship Cromm Cruaich, a god represented by a gold idol surrounded by twelve other stone idols, and sacrificed their children to it. They also venerated the Síde, who dwelt in mounds, and especially the spirits in wells, to which propitiatory gifts were offered.

"The honouring of sredhs and omens,
Choice of weather, lucky times,
The watching the voice of birds
They practised without disguise."¹

The Drui wore a white vestment and had his head tonsured from ear to ear, a custom borrowed by the priests of the Celtic Church till it conformed to the Roman usage. Cursing, spells, change of person into the form of animals and hags, also formed part of their creed.²

In the struggle between Christianity and these heathenish beliefs the worship of the deities gradually disappeared, but many of the superstitions lingered to influence the popular mind and even to form the bases of mythical stories. In Bute and Arran native farmers have scrupulously prevented the

¹ 'Chron. Picts and Scots,' p. 42.

² 'Trip. Life of St Patrick,' vol. i. clviii. By Whitley Stokes. London, 1887.

opening of mounds supposed to be sepulchral, on account of some regard for the departed spirits; and fairy tales are not yet extinct among the older natives, especially in Arran.

A tradition assigns to invisible spirits the ruining of a cottage built in Glencallum by one Malcolm Mackay, who married a Boyle of Lubas. The offended Feys carried house and inmates off bodily, and dropped only the lintel of their door in Bransar Bog, where it was found.

One myth, associated with the birth of St Blaen, is that his unknown father was a Sìth or fairy, who dwelt in "The Holy Well," or "Blaen's Well," beside his chapel. This well is also credited with a virtue, remedial of sterility, when the spirit is propitiated with an offering in silver or gold,—an exercise in faith very recently observed in more instances than one.

In Irish legend the usurper of kingly authority is represented as a cat-headed monster, himself dogged with misfortune and his kingdom with misery until the lawful ruler obtains his sway. A Cairbre Cinnchait (cat's head) or Caitchenn (cat-headed), whom the later writers identify with the leader of the servile classes who rebelled and overcame their aristocratic masters, is believed by Professor Rhys to be simply the "Culture-Hero" of Celtic religion, making warfare against the evil powers of darkness and winning a victory over them.¹

One of the panels of the antique cross standing in Rothesay churchyard contains the figure of a cat-headed monster, with a crowned head. There waves over its back a tail terminating like a trident. This figure may allegorise the struggle

¹ Rhys, 'Hibbert Lect.,' p. 313.

with the powers of Hades, and be a visible memorial and survival of a primitive myth. (See illustration, chap. xii.)

Myths die hard, and this one may have retained its popular, educative significance to that late period of the Celtic Church, the tenth century, when the sculptured high crosses were erected.

I have searched diligently to discover if the Dalriadic Scots had left in Bute any products of the folk-fancy of their native land, especially any stories of Finn and his heroic band. As yet I have been without success, owing, no doubt, to the fact that generations ago Butemen lost their purely Goidelic instincts, although for fashion and politic purposes they clung to their moribund language. There still exist several place-names into which lively imagination might read Fenian tradition, but the attempt to do so has no corroborating warrant. For example, *Dunagoil* might be interpreted as the Dun or fort of Goll, the great, squint-eyed, heroic swordsman of the Fian band, of whom Dunbar wrote:—

“ My fader, meikle Gow MacMorne,
Out of his moderis wame was schorne ;
For littleness was so forlorn,
Siccan a kemp to beir.”

Similarly *Craigagoul* might be the rock of Goul ; *Beallach-derg* may mean the pass of Dearg,—another Ossianic hero ; *Bronoch* and *Branzet* might have a real or fanciful connection with Bran, the famous dog of Finn. Into Kilwhinlick, in its old form of Kilconlick, as it appeared in 1440, the partial Gael might read the name of Conlaoch, the son of Cuchullin, whom his father slew in a javelin fight. But no tradition now clothes these spectres of imagination with historical

substance, and consequently one cannot conjure them up to illustrate the fancy of the old-time folk.

The stone quarry of Craigmaline on Ambrismore was credited with being the habitat of witches, and a hollow sound heard when tapping the road near the spot indicated their subterranean abode. It is told that an old laird of Ambrismore had disappeared for four days, having been spirited away to this darksome cavern. But coming to himself he had drawn his "joktaleg, or lang-kail gulley," and driven it into the door-lintel, and the sight of gleaming steel had undone the uncanny spell, so that he emerged scathless.

It was a nice fancy the Celts had which permitted them so inoffensively to describe how their local "Tam o' Shanter" passed a witching time among the spirits.

Down to the seventeenth century, witchcraft had its ill-fated votaries and victims in Kingarth and Rothesay, and their pranks in the "turning of the riddle" fall under observation in the later ecclesiastical history of the Isle.

When, how, or by whom the knowledge of the Christian faith first reached Britain is not determined. The growth of Christianity has shown features so unique that it is hazardous to dogmatically dismiss those discredited traditions which bring some of the apostles and first converts so far west. Clement of Rome, Bishop of the Eternal City, writer of the first century, and possibly the friend of St Paul mentioned in the Epistle to the Philippians, thus refers to the apostle's missionary enterprise :—

"Because of envy, Paul also obtained the prize of endurance, having seven times borne chains, having been exiled, and having been stoned. After he had preached the Gospel both in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown of his faith, having

taught righteousness to the whole world, and having come to the *Limit of the West*, and borne witness before the rulers. Thus he was freed from the world, and went into the holy place, having shown himself a pre-eminent example of endurance.”¹

The mystery shrouding St Paul's movements does not permit any emphatic belief that he ever reached Spain, or in Cadiz, that famous emporium for traders, planted a church out of which pioneers might have ventured with the merchants to Ireland. The beautiful story of the friend of St Paul² and the poet Martial, Pudens, marrying in Rome the graceful Claudia Rufina, “sprung from the painted Britons,” and of the return of her father Caractacus, as a Christian, in 58 A.D. to rule over Siluria, and to become the British ancestor of the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, is even doubtful.

The likeliest channel for the transmission of the Gospel was through the Roman armies or the energetic merchants who profited by their victorious advances. It must not be overlooked, however, that the Pentecostal power of the first Church was not suddenly and without results obliterated, and who can say how far it reached? According to Tertullian, it penetrated where never a Roman blade caused fear.

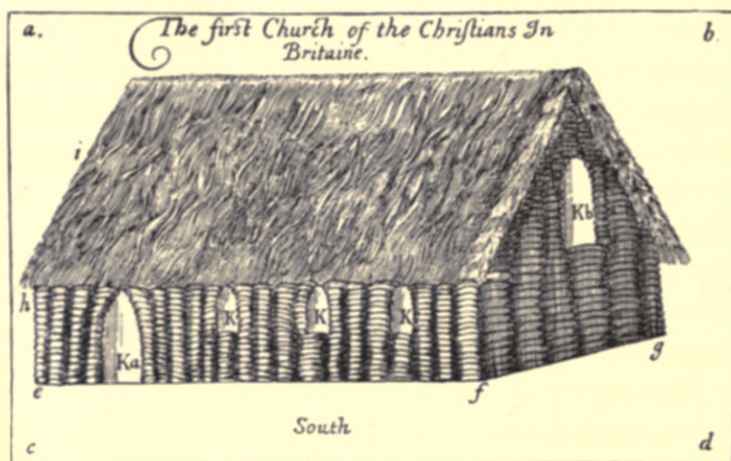
By the end of the first century the Romans were well acquainted with the coasts of Britain, their coins of date 70 A.D. having been found also in Ireland. Agricola himself made a flying visit to see the situation of the Western Isles. So what men of war achieved was equally easy for men moved by the Spirit of God. Indeed an Irish tradition maintained that

¹ Ep. 1 ad Cor. 5 (Lightfoot's 'Epistles of Clement,' pp. 46-52).

² Some say Pudens was half-brother of St Paul.

Altus, a soldier present at the Crucifixion, being converted, came to Erin to preach the crucified Redeemer.

The Roman practice of enlisting conquered peoples into the auxiliary legions made it possible for the British, and also the Caledonians, to become early acquainted with "the foreign superstition." Some of these were stationed in Pamphylia, where Paul and Barnabas first touched Asia after leaving Cyprus, as well as in other Roman colonies. When invalided and discharged they might easily have become vehicles of the new faith. From inscriptions and official lists of regiments it



appears that these provincial troops were through time even trusted to serve in the districts whence they had been drafted.

In the third century, during the Roman occupancy of Britain, the Christian religion, according to Bede, had taken a

The above illustration is copied from a plate in Samme's 'Antiqua Illustrata,' Lond., 1676, vol. i. p. 212, which is said to represent the church built by Philip the Deacon at Ineswithren or Glastonbury. Sir Henry Spelman took the measurements from an old plate preserved after the destruction of Glastonbury: length 60 feet; breadth 26 feet.

deep root there, and had its testimony sealed by the blood of native martyrs. During the next century its influence was distinctly felt in Alban, as we may infer from the origin of St Ninian, also of St Patrick, in Christian homes there. At two Councils held in the fourth century—Arles and Ariminum—British bishops were present, and possibly also at that of Sardica. In 386-400 A.D. the Church was settled in Britain, had chapels, altars, Scriptures, and discipline, and held the Catholic faith.¹

The writings of Bede (673-735) indicate that he wrote from selected material with such care as was possible to a historian of his age. It is not to be forgotten that the spread of Christianity was combined with great intellectual activity, especially in Ireland, two of the results of which were the transmission of the Gospels in lovely MSS., and the recording of the notable sayings and doings of the distinguished Celtic teachers. The preservation of some fragments of St Patrick's writings, and the acknowledged use by Adamnan in the life of Columba of biographical material, handed down by his predecessors, go to show that early writers, who may have occasionally lapsed into the error of recording insufficiently attested facts, and however much they may have adorned their tales as the fanciful medieval monks did, were not without good foundations for their literary work.

Scientific archæology, working upon the architectural, monumental, literary, and traditional relics of those early times, will soon be able definitely to illustrate how these early teachers, now attenuated to shadows on the horizon of history, were once substantial personages, and to resolve the

¹ Haddan and Stubbs *Conc.*, vol. i. p. 10.

incredible accretions in their biographies into the proofs that the mythical accounts of them were agreeable to the popular mind, which would not readily let such great men die. And even in this exact age, we must treat traditions tenderly, lest scepticism may extinguish too hastily the last flicker of some expiring truth which a kindly memory has tried to preserve from destruction. All traditions are not myths: all extraordinary events not untrue.

Pilgrimages of British converts to the holy places in Palestine and to the tombs of the martyrs were not infrequent. Theodoret, the profound Bishop of Cyros (+457), who wrote the life of Symeon Stylites, informs us that among the pilgrims who visited Antioch to hear the ascetic Symeon's fiery preaching from his pillar, 36 yards high, were Britons.

Jerome mentions how Christian pilgrims were noted for vending news; and as, at first, the Gospel story passed from mouth to mouth, like the tales and ballad histories of our country, it spread rapidly. Missionary enterprise was personal. The rapid successes of Ninian, Patrick, Columba, and Kentigern, who often at a single interview mollified a pagan tribe, incline me to believe that Christianity had previously filtrated among the northern heathen folks, requiring only its latent power to be set in motion by a dauntless missionary.

With the time came the man, Ninian. Bede thus refers to Ninian:—

“In the year of our Lord 565, when Justin the younger, the successor of Justinian, had the government of the Roman Empire, there came into Britain a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, who are separated from the southern parts by steep and rugged mountains: for the southern Picts, who dwell on this side of those mountains, had long before, as is re-

ported, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth by the preaching of Ninias, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth; whose episcopal see, named after St Martin the bishop, and famous for a stately church (wherein he and many other saints rest in the body), is still in existence among the English nations. The place belongs to the province of the Bernicians, and is generally called the White House (Whitherne, or Candida Casa, Galloway), because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons.”¹

To Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx (c. 1150 A.D.) we are indebted for the preservation of more than the saintly man's biography.

Ninian, born 360 A.D., was the son of a British chief or prince in the Roman province of Valentia, who was a Christian. But the people he settled among were the deadly enemies of the Brythons—the Niduari Picts, or men of the Nith, who occupied the district of the Solway between the Nith and Loch Ryan, and were included in that province.² And it may be remarked that few churches dedicated to St Ninian are found in the Western Isles, which in Ninian's time were being overrun by Irish Celts, as if his sympathies lay rather with the primitive folk from the Mull of Galloway to Dunrossness.

It was easy for Ninian to go to Rome, where he probably arrived when Damasus was Pope, 385, for a Roman road led direct from Valentia to the imperial city. After consecration to his episcopal office, and to service in his native land, he returned about 397, coming by way of Tours, where St Martin resided. From him he got two masons to erect the church at Whithorn, which was not finished when

¹ Bede, 'Hist.' Bk. iii. cap. iv.

² Ibid., 'Life of St Cuthbert,' cap. xi.

news of Martin's death arrived. Ninian dedicated the church to the memory of his friend—according to others, his uncle. During this time Ninian lived in a cave, long pointed out by tradition at Glasserton, which has lately yielded many proofs of the saint's humble residence there.¹ To the school built along with this church pupils thronged, until Rosnat was known as "The Great Monastery," from which many preachers and monks issued to the mission-field, among the number being Finnian, the teacher of Columba.

The numerous churches bearing his name, nearly seventy in number, testify both to his own restless energy and to the affection which his brave and devout life inspired in his pupils. For, as a general rule, early Celtic churches retain the names of their builders or founders, although it was also customary for missionaries to dedicate newly planted churches to their spiritual teachers or favourite saints. How far he wandered from "Alba," or "The White House," is unknown. The kingdom of Strathclyde, whose capital was Alcluith or Dunbreatan, now Dumbarton, was evidently awakened by his missionary fervour, and its blind King Tuduvallus or Totail had his sight miraculously restored by Ninian. The marvellous results of the spiritual education of barbarians were easily mistaken for miracles. The tale of the saint's pastoral staff illustrates this tendency to magnify the strange influence of the new religion on rude minds. One of his pupils, fearing castigation, purloined the master's pastoral staff, and with it entered a wicker-woven coracle to make off, without perceiving that the skin covering of the boat was

¹ 'Proc. Soc. Antiq.,' 1884-85, vol. vii.; 'Arch. and Hist. Coll. relating to Ayrshire and Galloway,' vol. v. p. 6, 1885.

absent. Water poured through the crazy frame so as to imperil his safety. The ingenious youth applied the staff to stop a hole, when instantly the danger ceased, the waters quelled, and the boat made headway ; for the staff acted as mast, sail, and rudder, and then as anchor, when the boat came safely ashore. The astonished truant wisely betook himself to prayer, and the staff, which he had driven into the earth, grew into a tree, beside which arose a living spring of water. In gratitude he reared a memorial chapel there, which he dedicated to his teacher. This myth evidently arose out of an allegory intended to suit the ideas of a marine people, who associated with it a story of a gospel-voyager's escape, and the custom of planting the church near spots and objects worshipped by the heathen—wells especially.

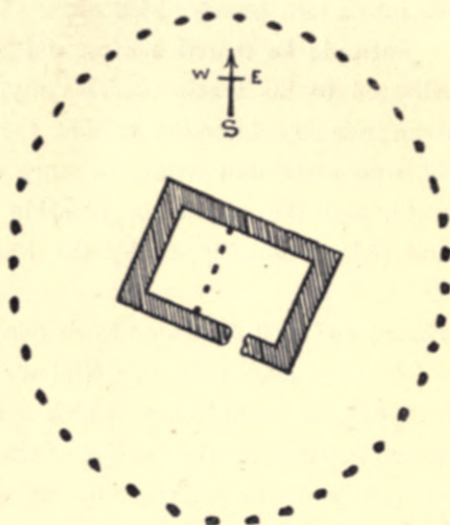
A ruined chapel and well dedicated to St Ninian are preserved on the Isle of Sanda ; and on St Ninian's Point, Bute, the ruins of an antique church, near which a never-failing well is found, are memorials of the mission of the saint in the west. The simplicity of the latter edifice suggests that it is coeval with Ninian. The stone church, erected by Ninian and named after his uncle, Bishop Martin, stood on a small peninsula known as the Isle of Whithorn.

Similarly this one stands on a narrow promontory, called St Ninian's Point, on the west coast of Bute and on the northern shore of St Ninian's Bay. On the occasion of very high tides or wild storms this promontory is turned into an islet, like Lindisfarne and St Ninian's Isle, Dunrossness.

The walls still standing, about 2 feet high, show a rectangular building, composed of small rough flat stones gathered on the rocky shore, and compactly bound by red

clay. The church stands W.N.W. and E.S.E. It measures externally nearly 32 feet long and 21 feet broad ; 4 feet thick in the gables, and 3 feet 6 inches thick in the side walls ; internally, 23 feet long, and from 13 feet 6 inches to 14 feet broad.

At a distance of 13 feet from the east end the foundations of a wall appear as if a square chancel existed. A break on



Ground-plan of St Ninian's Church and "Cashel."

the southern wall of the nave indicates where the door opened on a pathway still visible. The foundations of a "cashel" or circular wall, originally about 3 feet thick, composed of large blocks, also bedded in clay, forming an oval enclosure 80 feet in the N. and S. diameter, 72 feet in the E. and W. diameter round the church, are plainly visible ; and the remains of two other walls running east and west from the "cashel" to the sea are traceable. Traces of the stances of other buildings on the point yet exist. On dilapidating the eastern gable

to obtain material for a garden wall, a few years ago, a man discovered human bones, and happily desisted from further desecration of the sacred spot.

About 50 yards beyond the enclosure, and but a few feet above tide-mark, a modern crystal well proffers its cool refreshment; but no tree lives to memorialise the miracle of him whom Sir David Lyndsay styled "Sanct Ringan of ane rottin stoke."

No history attaches to the church, and we can only conjecture that Ninian himself reared it. It was in the zone of his immediate missionary influence, and it is very improbable that the Goidelic abbots and bishops, before or after Columba, would there dedicate a church to the Brytho-Pictish teacher. In 400 A.D. Bute-men may still have been the primitive Ivernians, with or without a mixture of the Brythons from Strathclyde. In Bute traces of the Brython people are not so numerous as those of the Goidels. But doubtless the Cumbras, Cumbri, or Kymry overran Bute as well as the Cumbraes, leaving their language impressed in place-names, such as Barone Hill, Cummermenoch, Plan, St Cruiskland, Penycachil, and others, as mentioned in the second chapter.

Wherever these Kymry, or countrymen of Ninian, were settled, Christianity would be propagated. So we may look upon St Ninian's Church as the outcome in the west of the vitality of the early British Church in the fifth century.

After converting the Southern Pictish kingdom to Christ, St Ninian retired to his White House to die, and the 16th of September 432 A.D. is accepted as the day of his death. An Irish Life, cited by Archbishop Usher, records that he departed life in a monastery he had founded at Cluayn-coner, now Cloncurry, in Kildare.

As to an estimate of his missionary work little can be said, since it could only be the work of the pioneer preparing the way for other preachers to the fickle pagans. Then, the Christian life was only an interlude between the sports of war. Consequently after Ninian's death we find the influence of the Church in Strathclyde somewhat retrograding through the political exigencies of the time. His immediate successors and pupils did not succeed in capturing popular favour so as to leave memorialised by the names of their churches in their spheres of influence those deep impressions made by them. The security of Roman patronage and toleration had departed with the legions recalled home in 411 A.D., and among the unloosed races the spirit of peace was little welcome. Hence a great blank occurs in the record of the Church in Strathclyde, for about a century, till the patron saint of Glasgow, St Kentigern, in the time of Roderick the Liberal, Rhydderch Hael, restored the prestige of the Church collaterally with St Columba. But before his appearance the fervour caused by the rise of the heresy, called Pelagianism, in the British Church, gave an impulse to Cymric missionaries to visit the outposts among "the apostate Picts."

In order to stifle this native heresy assistance was invoked and received from the Church in Gaul, and St Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, an eloquent defender of the faith, was sent in 429, and again in 447, to oppose the heretics.

Out of the wild west there came a pupil to him, Brioc or Brieuc by name. He was a Brython of noble birth. His parents, Cerpus and Eldruda, were idolaters, in the province of Corriticiana, now Cardigan. Brieuc, having followed Germanus into Gaul, was trained to the priestly office, and returned to his native land to convert his parents and his idol-

atrous kinsmen. He built at least one church, and educated several disciples in Britain. Brieuc is also numbered among a famous band of Celtic teachers who issued from the monastery of Iltut, at Llan-Illtyd in Wales, and on the pressure of the Saxon invasions crossed the sea to Brittany. This makes him contemporary with Germanus of Paris, however, and renders it difficult to date his career. In Armorica he founded the famous monastery and church in the town which still bears his name, Brioux, which was instituted into a bishopric in 844 by the Pope. The medieval chroniclers adorn his life with many miracles. He died about the year 500 in his ninetyeth year. The hagiologists assign the 1st of May for his festival.

According to Gildas the historian, it was the joy of the Britons to plough the seas, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Brieuc visited the northern Church to fan into life the flickering embers left on the altar of St Martin's, at Whithern. This visit would naturally explain why the church of the ancient parish of Dunrod, on the shore of Wigton Bay, opposite Whithorn, bore a double dedication to St Mary and St Bruoc. A similar association distinguishes the parish church of Rothesay. As has already been pointed out in Chapter I. p. 16, Rothesay church was called by the inhabitants, last century, "Cilla'bhuic," and the parish "Sgìreachd Bhruic." The ruined chancel, or chapel, in the churchyard, is now called St Mary's chapel or church. This structure is usually assigned to the thirteenth century, but the lower portions of the walls bear evidence of a remoter antiquity.

Before the old parish church was removed in 1692, Timothy Pont noted "Lady Kirck" on his map. The Chronicle of

Man (1200-1376), recording the burial of Alan, Bishop of Sodor and Man, "in the church of the blessed Mary at Rothersay in Bute" in 1320, and also that of Bishop Gilbert M'Lelan, in the same place, a few years later, does not refer to St Briec's Church.¹ These omissions prove nothing, however. The older dedication may have fallen into abeyance under Romanising influences.

It is generally believed that a resuscitation of dedications to old Celtic saints whose names had been omitted from the calendars since the time Queen Margaret tried to reform "the barbarous rite" of the Columban Church, took place through a Celtic movement to counteract the Anglicanisation of the Scottish Church through the use of "the Sarum Service." This restoration of the festivals of the Celtic saints found greater favour during the times of the Wars of Succession. Then, not infrequently, to satisfy opposing clerical parties, a double dedication, to a great Roman saint associated with a local one, was sanctioned. But, unless there was some local connection with this British missionary, there appears no reason for the resuscitation of his name in Bute. A fair is still held in Rothesay on what is called "Bruix Day," which falls on the third Wednesday of July. But formerly a fair was also held on the first Wednesday of May ('New Statistical Account,' p. 117). This lends corroboration to the opinion that St Briec was honoured here specially.

But Mr J. C. Roger, in a notice of the ancient monuments in St Mary's, asserts that "the only foundation for the name" is the popular designation of the midsummer fair of Rothesay,

¹ 'Antiq. Celto. Norm.,' by Rev. J. Johnstone, 1786; 'Chron. Man,' p. 46.

instituted by charter of James VI. in 1584-85.¹ The author of the 'Statistical Account' of Rothesay, the Rev. Robert Craig, made a more egregious blunder in asserting that "'Cilla Bhruic,' said by him [Dr Maclea] to be the name given to that church by the Highlanders, is no better than a *nick-name*, there being no such saint in the Romish Callendar."² The charter in question, however, appoints two fairs to be held, on the 22d day of July and the 23d day of October, annually, without mentioning either as Bruix Day. Scepticism, as well as faith, must be reasonable. It was customary in the Celtic Church to assign more than one day for the commemoration of a great saint. For example, for Finnian of Clonard three days were marked in the calendar. The tradition of the natives, and the recorded opinion of the gifted Gael, Dr Maclea, are not unharmonious with the checkered history of the primitive Church. At St Breock, Cornwall, the parish fair is held on the 1st day of May. A little church dedicated to Briec stood on the island of Inchbraoch, in the South Esk, near Montrose. From the 'Register of Aberdeen' it appears that in 1328, when witnessing a charter regarding the adjoining lands of *Rossy*, John de Cadiou designates himself, "Rector insule *Sancti Braochi*."

The parish of Craig, in Forfarshire, is made up of the two old parishes of Inchbrayoch or Craig, and St Skeoch (Skaa or Skay) or Dunninald (Doninad). The church of St Skay stood on a cliff overlooking the mouth of the South Esk. Rothesay also has its Skeochwood, without a clerical dedication. It is a remarkable coincidence.

¹ 'Proc. Soc. Antiq.,' vol. ii. p. 466. Edin., 1859.

² 'The Statistical Account of Buteshire,' p. 102. Edin., 1841.

Why St Brieuc should be honoured in the far-off country of the Vernicomes (the Meatae or non-Celtic aborigines) in Northern Pictland, and also in Galloway and Bute, unless the missionary, sprung from the idolatrous primitive folk, had penetrated (as St Blaen in the next century also penetrated) their retreats to preach in a dying tongue, is difficult to understand. His name, doubtless, represents some interest the British Church had in the Christianising of Caledonia, especially that very part where St Ninian laboured long before.

Further, St Ninian's influence was not local merely, but extended to Erin, which, according to some, he visited, wherein, according to others, he died. There the activities of the British Church commingled with those of the native Church, and a free intercourse and migration of pupils between their respective seminaries of learning arose. This was more especially the case after the death of St Patrick, when the Welsh Church sent missionaries to the Irish, "who had lost the Catholic faith," and introduced the Order of Mass used by SS. David, Cadoc, and Gildas—about 544-565. The fame of "The Great Monastery" was worthily sustained by its wise master, Nennio (Monennus, Mancennus, or Mansenus), who crossed the Irish Channel, and in the sister isle roused the fervour of the Pictish and Goidelic youth in the sixth century. Among the students who sought his monastic discipline were Tighernac, afterwards Abbot of Clunes; Enda of Aran, whom St Brendan visited; Eoghan of Ardrath; and the still better known Finan or Finnian, the founder of Maghbile. But a slender link, almost one invisible, connects this Finan or Finnian with the Isle of Bute.

According to Blain's 'History of Bute' (p. 398), a chapel formerly stood on the farm of Kilwhinleck. In Dr Maclea's

Glossary of Place-names, appended to Blain's 'History' (p. 445), Kilwhinleck is interpreted to mean "Cillchumhangleag—Cell of the narrow flag or stone." (Other forms of the name are Brythonic, *Kilquhenlik*, *Kilquhandy*. The Goidelicised form is (1440) *Kilconlick*, *Kilfeenleac*.) Tradition points out the spot where the chapel stood beside the original farmstead. Nothing of it remains, not even the font which lay there neglected till within living memory. The lovely site, about two miles from St Ninian's Church, is in a district specially reminiscent of Irish history, where the Neills long held sway over the Mac-gill-chiarans and others, beside Kilkieran and Kilmorie. But Dr Maclea's derivation is not satisfactory, if for no other reason than this, that Celtic churches bore a founder or a patron's name, while the idea under "cell" is misleading. Who then planted Kil-quhinleck?

When it is recollected that *Gw* in Welsh corresponds to *F* in Gaelic, the transformation of the name of Finan into Wynnin by the Brythons in Bute, as in Kilwinning, is seen to be easy. Some pronounce it Kil-feen-leag, which induces the suggestion that the name memorialises "the stone church of Finan or Wynnin," or the "church of the flagstone of Finan." In the early Irish Church the slab, *leac*, on which the patron saint was born, or slept, or under which he lay buried, was held in reverence, and pointed out in the church dedicated to him. In pre-Reformation times Rothesay parish was attached to Kilwinning Abbey, and till 1639 was included in the Presbytery of Irvine.¹ A family called "Makgylquhynnych,"

¹ "Carta to the Abbacy of Kilwinning, of the advocacy of the Kirk of Rosay, by James Stewart, grandson to the king (*i.e.*, Robert III.)."—Robertson's 'Index,' p. 140, No. 42.

who in 1506 were infest in the lands of Cawnoch, or Tawnie, in Bute, seem to bear the patronymic of the saint; while Winnyhill (now Windyhall, with its traditional graveyard) and Langrewinnog (Pont's Atlas) may retain traces of the honoured name of Winnin.

Finan or Finnian, Bishop and Abbot of Maghbile, now Moville, in the county of Down, was a prince of the house of Dalriatach, and was born about the beginning of the sixth century. His birthplace was in Dalaradia, that district of north-west Ireland which sent so many missionaries of Pictish blood into Caledonia. He was therefore a Ulidian, or Non-Celt, with all the restless energy of his race. In the opening stanza of an ancient Irish poem in the '*Saltair na Rann*,' Finan of Moville is mentioned as the patron saint of Ulidia, and Columba of the Clan Neil. His parents, Cairbre (Corpreus) and Lassara, early intrusted his education to distinguished teachers, Colman of Dromore and Caylan, both of whom had studied under Ailbe, the pupil of St Patrick, and of Mochae of Noendrum. Caylan or Mochae directed Finan to the monastic school of Nennio at Whithorn, after which he went to Rome for three months, and on the completion of his studies there became a priest. Finan brought with him from Rome a copy of the Bible, partly translated, partly corrected by St Jerome. Columba, having stealthily transcribed this precious book, originated a dispute, the final result of which was the voluntary exile of Columba to Alban. Columba's copy of this manuscript and its casket, called the "*Cathach*" or Battler, after a most romantic history, has become the property of a representative of the original keepers, Sir Richard O'Donnell of Newport, Mayo, by whom it is exhibited in the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. When

opened in 1814 it was found to contain the manuscript of a portion of the Gallican Psalter, as corrected by St Jerome from the Hexaplar Greek of Origen.

A fuller account of this wonderful episode will be found in Bishop Healy's '*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum.*'¹

On his return to his native land, Finan founded the famous school of Maghbile, about the year 540; and afterwards that of Driumfionn, Dromin. At the former he taught the quarrelsome boy *Crimthan* (wolf), afterwards renowned Columba (dove).

He has been by some identified with St Frigidianus, Bishop of Lucca in Italy, a contemporary Irish missionary. The Irish chroniclers say he died and was buried in Maghbile about the year 576-579, the 10th September being observed in his honour. To him they assigned the fame of being the "first who carried the Mosaic law and the whole Gospel into Erin."

Scottish tradition, crystallised in the '*Breviary of Aberdeen,*' makes Finan a contemplative student and a skilful artificer, who provided himself with a mission-ship in which he and other teachers set out for Alban.

After many hardships they at last landed at the mouth of the Garnock, in Cunningham, Ayrshire. Miracles duly followed. An angel, in a vision, directed Finan to build his church on the spot where the ruined Abbey of Kilwinning now stands. He next made the dark grove of Holywood, near Dumfries, his retreat. Thereafter, according to Bishop Usher, he "died in great opinion of sanctity, and was buried at Kilwinning."

¹ P. 248. Dublin, 1890.

How far the influence of St Finan or Wynnin penetrated can only be guessed at by marking the diffusion of churches and holy healing-wells dedicated to him — *e.g.*, Kilfinan parish in Argyllshire. And none of these are beyond the sphere of the efforts of the preachers issuing from St Ninian's monastery. A St Finan was also known as Findbarr or White-head, and under this name we find traces of him in the west, in Kintyre, where also was Winnin's healing-well; in Barra; in Ross; in Barr parish, Ayrshire, where stood Kilbar. A peculiar corruption of his name is also found in Kirkgunzeon in Kirkcudbright.

Whatever may have been the aim of St Finan's mission to Strathclyde, we may associate his work with that of the British Church, which, in the west, was gradually being overlapped by that of the Irish Church, stimulated by the spirit of St Patrick and of his distinguished successors. Most probably, too, the kindred of the Cruithni or primitive folk at home delighted to hear in Alban, from St Finan, the Gospel in their Pictish tongue.

As to the extent and results of missionary enterprise, emanating from the British church at Whithern, we have scarcely the slightest trace left us whereby to form any conclusions. It may, however, be taken for granted that it was not the work of merely isolated wanderers, to-day in one vale, to-morrow in another, but rather the extension of mission settlements in heathendom, under fearless preachers like SS. Ninian, Finan, Faolan, whose stations were linked to each other by pilgrim preachers coming and going. This will account for the penetrative energy of the British Church.

CHAPTER V.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

“ Not as the conqueror comes, they, the true-hearted, came ;
 Not with the roll of the stirring drums, and the trumpet that sings of fame ;
 Not as the flying come, in silence and in fear ;—
 They shook the depths of the desert’s gloom with their hymns of lofty cheer.”
 —HEMANS.



THE western coasts of Scotland have a double interest in the remarkable life and work of St Patrick, inasmuch as probable tradition assigns to them the place of his nativity, and they very early felt the power of the Christian activities he set in motion in Ireland. It was in “the Britains,” his native land, Patrick was reared by his father, Calpurnius, and mother, Concessa, who tilled a little farm beside Bannauem Taberniæ, in some Roman colony. Calpurnius was also a *decurio*, or local magistrate, and united to his secular office the spiritual one of deacon in the church. His father, Potitus, was a priest, and the son of Odissus, a deacon. From this Christian family Patrick, or, as the Celts styled him, Succat, sprang about the year 373 A.D. His capture by Irish pirates in his sixteenth year, his sale to Miliuc, a chief in the Braid valley, near Slemmish (Ballymena), where he was set to herd sheep

or swine, his escape to his parents in Britain, are accepted as historical facts, which go along with tradition to prove that it was in the Cymric district of Dumbarton Patrick was born. The memory of his experiences became Patrick's call to a mission among the heathens of Ireland. After betaking himself to the best colleges, perhaps at Whithern, and probably in Gaul and Italy, and one account takes him to the famous monastery of Lerins in the Mediterranean, he became a priest, and about the year 397 returned to Ireland.

Dr Whitley Stokes, in order to reconcile the discrepancies in the Lives of the saint,¹ suggests that Patrick at first had no commission from Rome, and after labouring for thirty years among the pagan tribes without much success, went back to Gaul in 427 A.D. to obtain episcopal ordination and Roman authority, to the want of which he attributed his small success. When studying under St Germanus of Auxerre he heard of the death of Palladius, who had been sent by Pope Celestinus, in 431, to "the Scots believing in Christ," and was directed by St Germanus to take up the mission of Palladius. Consequently Patrick, without proceeding to Rome, received episcopal consecration from Bishop Matorix, and returned to Ireland in the year 432. He was then sixty years old. As a Gallic missionary he was accompanied by assistants from Gaul, and also strengthened with funds for the work. Under him the advance of the Church throughout the land can only be likened to a triumph, the result of which was the rearing of numerous churches, the conversion of tribes totally, and the education

¹ 'The Trip. Life of Patrick,' by Whitley Stokes. London, 1887. Vol. i. p. cxli.

of very many priests and teachers, who disseminated the Gospel far and wide.

After sixty years of missionary enterprise, he died, it is said, on the 17th March 463, aged ninety years, and was buried in Downpatrick.

The phenomenal reverence in which St Patrick's memory was held in early Ireland and Caledonia can scarcely be sufficiently appraised now, and this affection was expressed in the phrase, "*Sanctus Patricius Papa noster*," and in the custom of naming churches and wells after the saint. Whether in Alban this originated in the personal intercourse of the saint—Manxmen declared Patrick was their first preacher—or in the gratitude of pupils, cannot be ascertained. The inhabitants of Muthil until very lately (*i.e.*, about 1835) held St Patrick's name in so high veneration, that on his day "neither the clap of the mill was heard nor the plough seen to move on the furrow." ¹

His power in Erin was even more commanding. He cast a spell over the land, till his disciples, with "a roving commission" to carry the Gospel, swarmed everywhere. The fame of St Patrick penetrated to the East as well, and crowds of foreign ecclesiastics—Egyptians, Romans, Gauls, Britons, Saxons—came to Erin to be taught by him or his disciples.

Without a doubt these preaching pilgrims, men and women, were borne, in the fifth century, over the Irish Channel along with the hordes of marauders—"Hibernici Grassatores"—who were colonising the Western Isles. It was their mission to the pagan islesmen. It was congenial work for kinsmen, too.

¹ 'New Stat. Acc.,' Perth, p. 313.

So we find the alleged mission to Caledonia of Palladius the martyr carried on by a branch of the Irish Church ministered to by Picts, the disciples of St Patrick, who had pushed up the valleys as far as Abernethy, the capital of the Pictish kingdom. Bute was on the route of this and successive migrations. And in Bute dedications to saints, who were highly esteemed in northern Pictland, are found.

It is a noteworthy fact that the early Irish chroniclers and hagiologists do not make St Patrick the first bishop ordained by the Roman Church to carry the Gospel into Erin. In a MS. Life of Ailbe, afterwards the famed Bishop of Emly, it is recorded that this youth was converted by a "Christian priest" who had been sent direct from the Roman see to disseminate the Gospel.¹ To St Patrick, however, is generally assigned the honour of teaching Ailbe, and consecrating him the first Bishop of Munster, with his seat at Cashel, during the reign of Aengus (+490). Of his pupils much in reference to Bute can be said. But before touching upon this connection it is necessary to allude to two contemporaries of St Patrick, who, according to Dempster's '*Menologium Scoticum*,' were honoured specially in Bute.

In the Calendar, under April 11, Dempster gives: "In the Isle of Bute [the festival] of Maccaëus, priest, disciple of St Patrick, the apostle of the Irish."² The same authority associates the 5th October with his day at Dunkeld. Camerarius, in his Calendar, under 7th October, improves upon Dempster by recording that "St Macceus came out of Scotia [*i.e.*, Erin] with St Patrick."³ The identification of this

¹ 'De Script. Hiberniæ,' Jac. Waræo, p. 1. Dublin, 1639.

² "Insula Buta Maccaei vatis S. Patricii Hibernorum Apostoli discipuli B."

³ "Sanctus Macceus cum Sancto Patricio Scotiâ egressus."—Forbes Cal., p. 241.

preacher is somewhat difficult, some considering him to be Mahew of Kilmahew. He may have been no other than the Pictish youth Mochoe or Mochay, of Dalaradia, whom Patrick educated to the priesthood and saw settled as the Abbot and Bishop of Antrim, who died 23d June 497.

The Antrim families who colonised the west coasts may have carried his cult here, there being no more feasible reason for the local reverence shown to him. The once powerful family of Maccaws of Garrachty bear a name not unlike that of this forgotten bishop. No trace of his residence survives, however.

The rapid spread of Christianity after the time of St Patrick renders it credible that his disciples migrated even to the remotest isles in our northern archipelago, where they erected those primitive cells whose ruins are yet to be found in unlooked-for places. What authority Dempster had for numbering Machilla among these voyagers is not implicitly reliable. Under October 4 of the Calendar he gives: "In Bute [the festival] of St Machilla, who veiled St Brigid;" and again, under February 1, "In Scotia [the festival] of Brigid the Virgin, who, having been deceived by an earthly spouse, took the veil of virginity, in the Scottish Hebrides Isles, from St Machilla, in whose testimony the dry wood of the altar, on her touch, became green again."

Camerarius, without mentioning Bute, assigns the 9th of October to Mathilla.

There is evidence in Dempster's statement of a confounding of two bishops, Maccaldus of Man and Maccaleus of Cruachan Brigh-eile, and of a too ready acceptance of irreconcilable traditions. The bishop who veiled St Brigid at Usny Hill (Westmeath) was Maccaille, the son of Caille or

Cuille (Maceleus, Maccleus), and was a pupil of St Patrick, consecrated to his episcopate about 465 A.D. Another of the same band, who is also called a Bishop of the Isles, was Hybar, or Iborus, who was visited by the virgin Modwenna, a contemporary of Brigid.

The annals of "The Four Masters" record that this Bishop Maccaile died in 490.

Did he visit the Bute churches in his day? We know of the restless desires of his famous contemporaries to seek retreats,—Ailbe yearning to sail to far-off Orkney, and Enda actually accomplishing his aim in the Aran Isles, while Brigid herself roamed everywhere in her "parish" or mission-field, "spread over the whole Hibernian land."¹

The diminutive church, called KilMichel (pronounced by old natives Kil-muchil), whose ruins in the lonely churchyard on the north-west coast of Bute still happily remain, may, with little impropriety, be associated with the name of St Patrick's pupil. The period in which it was customary, in the British and Irish Churches, to dedicate to St Michael is so much posterior to the date to which we might be warranted in assigning the erection of this primitive edifice, that the presumption in favour of the Irish missionary is worthy of consideration.

Indeed, the field adjoining KilMichel contains a tumulus surmounted by a dolmen, which is known popularly as "Michael's Grave," thus indicating that the local patron was not looked upon as of celestial origin. And down to the end of last century several families of Mac-gill-mhichells kept up in Bute the trace of this patronymic.

¹ Cogitosus, 'Prol. Tr. Thaum,' p. 518.



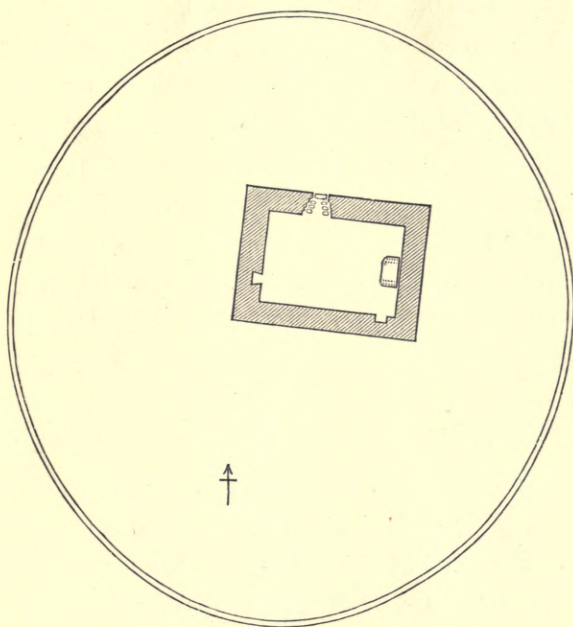
VIEW OF THE WEST GABLE OF KILMICHEL.



Worship seems to have been kept up here till into the eighteenth century. Martin, in his 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' says of Boot: "The churches here are as follow, Kilmichel, Kilblain, and Kilchattan in the South Parish; and Lady Kirk in Rothesay is the most Northerly Parish: all the inhabitants are Protestants."¹

"Far on its rocky knoll descried
Saint Michael's chapel cuts the sky."

Kilmichel is now a roofless, but otherwise well-preserved, fane. The sea-smoothed stones from the beach beneath it



Ground-plan of Kilmichel.

compose its walls, which are bound together with earth. The building is rectangular in form, and lies oriented, measuring

¹ See Appendix.

externally 25 feet 4 inches in length and from 18½ feet to 19 feet in breadth; and internally, 19 feet 2 inches by 12 feet 9 inches. The side walls are still 6 feet 9 inches high, nor seem to have been higher. A narrow doorway, 2 feet 6 inches, breaks the north wall.

A rough slab, apparently the altar, remains *in situ* in the eastern end. The altar-stone measures 4 feet 4 inches long, 2 feet 4 inches broad, and 5½ to 6 inches thick. The supports are respectively 20 and 21 inches above the earthen floor. The sill of a small window, high on the south wall, is visible. Two aumbries appear in the west and south walls. The curves on the west gable corners indicate that the roof was of a beehive type, but the presence of a few thick slates, pierced for pins, lying on the clay floor, rather opposes this idea at first. There is no record of any services held here in Protestant times, and the chapel may have been repaired with slates, during the "resurrection scare," for a ward-house. The ancient burial-ground, still utilised occasionally by families on the Argyleshire coast, is surrounded by a circular wall, measuring 84 feet and 78 feet in its diameter. A holy or lover's well also exists close by.

There are in Bute two dedications to St Brigid, the pupil of St Maccaile, the one at Kilbride in Glenmore, about three miles from Kilmichel or a less distance over Torran Turach Hill; and the other at St Bride's Hill, Rothesay, now covered by the museum. Of St Bride's chapel and cemetery at the former place not a trace now remains, save in the name of the farm of Kilbride, the hill above it called Kilbride Hill, and the farm in the vicinity, Drumachloy (Drum-a-chlaidh), ridge of the churchyard.

To the latter (Rothesay), which was used as a place of



VIEW OF THE EAST INTERIOR OF KILMICHEL.



worship down to the period of the Reformation, reference will be made in connection with the Roman Church in a succeeding chapter.

This romantic virgin, St Brigid, was a Ulidian by birth, being a native of Fochard, near Dundalk, about the year 453. From her youth, under the influence of the Church organised by Patrick, she increased her reputation for sanctity and holy works, so that her fame was wellnigh equal that of the apostle of the Irish. As stated before, she was consecrated by Bishop Maccaile, and gathered round her crowds of virgins and widows for Christian education. The establishments she founded were subsequently governed by bishops under a regular rule. Her famous community at Kildare, founded in 490, became an influential colony in a prosperous town, richly endowed on behalf of her pupils and the poor. Among her more distinguished contemporaries, and also pupils, was St Brendan the Voyager, who went to St Brigid in search of instruction. St Brigid's nuns spread over Ireland and Scotland, and their cells and churches were affiliated with the mother-house. So great was the honour in which she was held that she was known as "the second Mary" and the "Mary of the Irish," and both Marys were invoked in prayer for protection. She died in the year 523. It is natural, then, to suppose that the Scots, who were then firmly established in the Western Isles, had carried her cult with them; and her pupils, following the track of the Ulidians into Pictland, founded the establishment at Abernethy, where her relics were preserved, perhaps setting up on their march the many chapels which bore the name of Kilbride. Dr Macpherson even associates her name with the name of the Hebrides Isles.

As has been previously mentioned, one of the teachers of St Finnian was St Colman, Bishop of Dromore, who was a Dalaradian Pict, educated in Antrim by Caylan, and in Munster by Ailbe. He flourished early in the sixth century.



Kilmachalmaig Cross.

He appears to be remembered in the name of Colmac (Calmac) farms in North Bute, which till recently went under the more correct designation of Kilmachalmaig. There are now no remains of the chapel which stood on East Colmac,¹

¹ It was utilised for building the steading by the farmer one hundred years ago.

and the traces of the cemetery, visible in the end of last century, are totally obliterated now. One relic of this seat of worship alone survives in the massive flat-faced boulder of trap, with its deeply incised cross, preserved in a field. It measures 3 feet 7 inches high and 19 inches broad, and is of varying thickness. The circle in which the cross is cut measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This church was used for divine service till long after the Reformation. In 1591 we find



Figure of Swastika on Kilmachalmaig Cross.

Patrick M'Queine, pastor of Kingarth, has Killumcogarmick (Kilmhichoarmick) added to his charge.¹

Of this Colman's residence in the new colony of the Scots nothing is known. Tradition, however, declares he lies buried in Inchmacome, formerly Inchmocholmoc, the church dedicated to him in the lake of Menteith. And his festival is kept on the 7th of June.

¹ Scott, 'Fasti Eccles. Scot.', Part V. p. 29.

He was apparently one of many missionaries, like Fillan and Kessog, who came from south-west Ireland to minister among the primitive folk, with whom their kinsmen were coming into closer alliance in Caledonia. And it is quite probable that these little-known preachers were only casual visitants, bishops-errant, like Tighernac, "the man of two districts," and Berchan, "the man of two portions," passing as it suited them to the various stations in the mission-field.

As it is, their work sufficiently illustrates the fervour caused by the Irish Church of Patrick and his immediate successors, down to that period when their kinsfolk had founded a secure kingdom over the sea. They were the pioneers of the Columban institution, and prepared the way for that rapid diffusion of the Gospel which characterised the ceaseless movements of the monks from lone Iona. Far too little credit is given to these dauntless missionaries who threaded kyle and forest, and marched over moor and mountain, with no armed escort save the thrice-armed spirit dwelling in the sacred Gospel they carried in their satchel, probably because their vagrant ministry looks of little value in the bright light that reveals the wonderful work of Columba. They first scattered the seed; Iona had the garnering of the harvest and the glory thereof.

An inquiry as to the teaching and polity of the Church these missionary bishops represented may be fitly introduced here.

The differentiation of the early Irish Church from the British Church, if at all appreciable, lay more in its ecclesiastical polity and liturgical forms than in the substance of the teaching of the Gospel. But it is nearly as difficult to settle definitely now whether the Celtic Church, in either branch,

acknowledged any delegation of authority from the Roman See, or considered itself absolutely independent, as it would be for an intelligent Englishman to conclude whether or not those remote parishes to which the General Assembly has occasion to send commissions are connected with the Church of Scotland, whose edicts are not observed within their province. No British liturgy exists; the Irish liturgy can only be guessed at from fragments of it preserved in early books.

We are dependent upon 'The Tripartite Life of St Patrick' for definite information regarding the teaching and modes of worship in the Church in his day. It is clear the early teachers faithfully maintained the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith, and used the version of the Bible prepared by St Jerome. There are substantial reasons for believing that they also possessed a vernacular version, if not of all, of some of the books of the Bible, the Greek portions of which were studied by the more famous evangelists, like St Brendan. A liturgy was also used, and from surviving fragments it appears to have been related to the "Ephesine" rather than to the "Petrine" family of liturgies—that is to say, it was different from the Roman, and if not identical with the Gallican liturgy was similar to it.¹

Of the coequality of the Trinity they had no doubt. In 'The Tripartite Life,' Baptism and the Eucharist are mentioned as Sacraments, but Penance, Marriage, Holy Orders, and Extreme Unction are not referred to as Sacraments; while Confirmation, if not accepted as of divine institution, was esteemed to have an imperative importance. There is only a slight trace of the honours paid to the Virgin Mary in

¹ 'The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church.' F. E. Warren. Oxford, 1881.

the same work. According to the editor, "The Blessed Virgin Mary is never mentioned either by Patrick or Secundinus, Muirchu or Tirechán."¹

Communion was partaken of in both kinds, the wine being mixed with water in the chalice, and sucked through a fistula. Prayers and fasting on behalf of the dead were indulged in, and much virtue was attributed to severe fastings and ascetic mortifications of body and soul. One saint went so far as to recognise a redemptive power in the painful burrowing in the flesh of a dainty beetle; others practised philanthropy more humanely by ministering to lepers; still others sealed themselves up in silent cells (*deiscirt*, desert) to be alone with God. Every day was consecrated to unremitting labours in the Gospel. Sabbath was indeed a day of worship, divided into eight watches, like the other days of the week, and was fully observed in the saying of Mass, the chanting of the 150 psalms, and preaching to the people. The clergy,—deacons, presbyters, and bishops, were married. A notable feature of the consecration of bishops was the practice of consecration by a single bishop, sometimes at a leap, without the candidate having received orders as a deacon or priest.

The first Irish bishops were not invested with a territorial jurisdiction, but each usually exercised his mission in the tribe or sept which had invited him into residence, and acquired the authority which was permitted to him in the settlement of priests and churches, over which he remained as steward.

Priests and virgins had a "roving commission" to "sing and say" over the land. It is interesting to find that the

¹ Whitley Stokes, 'Trip. Life,' p. clxv.

catacombs in Rome have preserved the monuments of "virgines peregrinæ," like those of the Celtic Church.

The size, importance, and influence of a complete ecclesiastical establishment (*muintir*), such as that presided over by St Patrick, may be inferred from the functions of the twenty-four persons who were in office along with him—viz., bishop, priest, judge, bishop-champion (polemic), psalmist, chamberlain, bell-ringer, cook, brewer, two waiters, charioteer, firewood-man, cowherd, three smiths, three artisans, and three embroideresses. To these has to be added, probably, a "Culdee of his household, Malach, the Briton," whom the saint on one occasion invited to restore a dead boy to life, so that we imagine he was the "medicine-man" of the colony. To this monastic system I shall revert when dealing with the remains of the abbacy at Kilblaan in a succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HERMITS.

"The bravely dumb that did their deed,
 And scorned to blot it with a name,
 Men of the plain heroic breed,
 That loved Heaven's silence more than fame."

—J. R. LOWELL.



ONE of the immediate effects of the teaching of men of the type of Patrick and Ailbe was a strong impulse on the part of some of the converts to the faith to separate themselves entirely from the world, and endeavour to live the new life of purity and holiness unhindered by social claims and unmolested by common temptations. In some sweet or stern retreat, according to the romantic or stoical texture of his soul, in darksome cave, sequestered glen, or precipitous isle scarce accessible save to the surges and the wild birds, the Christian recluse chose to sit apart, "a melancholy man," engaging himself

"In heavenly vision, praise, and prayer,
 Pleased and blessed with God alone."

Whether this practice was a spontaneous outcome of the influence of Christianity on certain retiring dispositions, or

was the result of an imitative contagion spread from the far East, it is not necessary here to inquire. Enough it is to know that the same features which distinguished the customs of the Anchorites in Syria were illustrated in Ireland, and the Celtic hermits abandoned themselves to a severely solitary life, to be quit of the restraints of our common lot. They formed a third class of saints, according to a very ancient catalogue disinterred by Archbishop Usher.

“CATALOGUE OF THE SAINTS IN IRELAND ACCORDING TO THE
DIFFERENT TIMES IN WHICH THEY FLOURISHED.

“The First Order was in the time of St Patrick. They were all then great and holy bishops filled with the Holy Ghost, 350 in number, the founders of churches, worshipping one head—namely, Christ; following one leader, Patrick; and having one tonsure and one celebration of Mass and one Easter, which they celebrated after the vernal equinox; and what was excommunicated by one Church, all excommunicated. They did not reject the service and society of females, because, founded on Christ the Rock, they feared not the wind of temptation. This order flourished during four reigns—that is, during the reign of Læghaire, son of Niall (A.D. 432), who reigned thirty-seven years, and of Ailill Molt, who reigned thirty years, and of Lugaid, who reigned seven years. And this order continued to the last years of Tuathal Maelgarbh (A.D. 543). They all continued holy bishops, and they were chiefly Franks and Romans, and Britons and Scots by birth.

“The Second Order of Saints was as follows. In the Second Order there were few bishops, but many priests—in number 300. Whilst worshipping God as their one head, they had different rites for celebrating, and different rules of living; they celebrated one Easter on the 14th moon; they had a uniform tonsure, *videlicet*, from ear to ear. They shunned the society and services of women, and excluded them from their monasteries. This order also flourished during four reigns—*i.e.*, during the last years of Tuathal Maelgarbh,

and during the thirty years of Diarmait's reign, the son of Cearbhall ; and during the time of the two grandsons of Muiredach, who reigned seven years ; and during the time of Ardh, son of Ainmire, who reigned thirty years (A.D. 597). These received their rite for celebrating Masses from the holy men of Britain, from St David and St Gildas and St Docus. And the names of these are—Finnian, Enda, Colman, Comgall, Aidus, Ciaran, Columba, Brandan, Birchin, Cainnech, Lasrian, Lugeus, Barrind, and many others who were of this Second Order of Saints.

"The Third Order was of this kind—they were holy priests, and a few bishops, one hundred in number, who dwelt in desert places. They lived on herbs and the alms of the faithful ; they despised all things earthly, and entirely avoided all whispering and detraction. They had different rules [of life], and different rites for celebrating ; they had also a different tonsure, for some had the crown [shaven], but others kept their hair on the crown. They had also a different paschal solemnity ; for some celebrated it on the fourteenth, but others on the thirteenth moon. This order flourished during four reigns—that is, from the time of Aedh Slaine, who reigned only three years ; and during the reign of Domhnall, who reigned thirty years ; and during the time of the sons of Maelcobha ; and during the time [of the sons of] Aedh Slaine. And this order continued down to the time of the great plague (in A.D. 664)."

(Then follows a list of their names.) Then the writer says :—

"Note that the First Order was most holy, the Second holier, and the Third holy. The First glowed like the sun in the fervour of their charity ; the Second cast a pale radiance like the moon ; the Third shone like the aurora. These Three Orders the blessed Patrick foreknew, enlightened by heavenly wisdom, when in prophetic vision he saw at first all Ireland ablaze, and afterwards only the mountains on fire ; and at last saw lamps lit in the valleys. These things have been extracted from an old 'Life of Patrick.'"¹

¹ Quoted from the Salamanca MS., p. 161 (published by the Marquess of Bute),

Among the anchorites enumerated by this catalogue one bears the name of Ernan, of whom more anon.

In the monastic system of the Celtic Church, however, many of these anchorites submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the superior of the monastery, and consequently we find their cells forming part of the establishment. Of St Molaise, founder of the monastery of Daimhinis, St Cuimin of Connor wrote:—

“ Molaise of the lakes loves
To be in a prison of hard stone,
To have a guest-house for the men of Erinn
Without refusal, without a particle of churlishness.”

The isolated oratory or hermitage was called *desertum*, in Goidelic, *deiscirt*, also *carcair*, *cell*, and *clochan*. This cell or desert was a voluntary retreat for prayer, as well as a place of penance for infringement of the monastic rules, or other sins. Some recluses elected a life of perpetual incarceration, living in dependence on their fellow-Christians. When built of stone, *clochan*, and attached to a church, this cell, with one small bole whereby to introduce the Sacrament, a second for handing in his eleemosynary meal, and a third for granting a glimpse of day to a sealed-in hermit, was verily a miserable residence. I have visited, in Ratisbon, a very good example of such an oratory, called “the Chapel of the holy Scot Merchertach, in which he lived as a recluse (*inclusus*) for fourteen years,”—in which he died (1080 A.D.), and lies buried. It had formerly no door. One window looked into the Obermunster Church, to which the cell was attached; another gave light;

by Dr Healy, ‘*Insula Sanctorum*,’ &c., pp. 160, 161; Usher, ‘*Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*,’ cap. xvii. vol. vi. p. 478; Lanigan, ‘*Eccl. Hist. Ireland*,’ vol. ii. p. 330.

the third was used for taking in his food. I was glad to leave its musty sanctity for sweeter air in a freer life. It is quite possible that the circus at Kilblaan—"The Dreamin' Tree Ruin"—was latterly used as a place of retreat for recluses.

I have previously alluded to an instance where the inmate of a *deiscirt* or *cell* was a Culdee, and the reference is one of the first importance, in so far as it suggests a different explanation of the special functions of that order from what is generally accepted by historical students. From 'The Tripartite Life' of St Patrick it appears that, in a missionary journey, he found that one Ailill's son had been devoured by swine, all but his bones. These the saint had gathered, and ordered "a Culdee of his household (*Céili n Dé dia Muintir*)—namely, Malach, the Briton, to bring him to life." Malach refused. Whereupon St Patrick laid terrible curses upon the house of Malach (*deiscirt, cell Malaich*), and asked his attendant bishops, Ibair and Ailbe, to raise the youth. On their united prayer, the dead son of Ailill came to life.

This call of the Culdee from the solitary life of the *desert*, where, cut off from all human interests, the life of another was of small moment to him, to undertake humane work in its most difficult form, prompts the inquiry whether or not the Culdees were not the Christianised successors of the *Druada*, or priestly magicians, who pretended to possess miraculous powers. (See chapter iv.) Their conversion would loose them from their self-deception regarding sorcery and spells, and inspire them to use the righteous methods of the Christian "medicine-man." Studied seclusion is the universal attribute of the family of the witch of Endor in the rudest or the most advanced nations. That feature may have survived in the case of Malach till, by failure, his pretended

power was banned away. In time, with chastened and curtailed pretensions, the Culdee, spouse of God, betook himself to the office of alleviating the miseries of the poor and of healing the sick, when called upon to manifest his peculiar skill and love.

Then we notice them growing into communities like a higher order of the "Brothers of Misericordia," sustained by the faith that they had power over the frailties and diseases of men, and united by a common humanitarian aim. Thus they had gradually developed out of retiring soothsayers into the Hospitallers of the Celtic Church,—a useful community of "Servants of God," living under their own monastic rule, but living to succour the infirm, the sick, and the dying. If any reference could correct the popular ideas regarding these Culdees, who are commonly equated with the ordinary monks and bishops of the Irish and Caledonian Churches, it is found in the 'Annals of Ulster,' where, narrating the ravages of the Norse invaders, in 921 A.D., they note how "they saved the houses of prayer, with their people of God, the *Ceilean De*, and the sick." Thus it was to the poor and the distressed the Culdees had their mission, and they were not invested with a cure of souls whatever.

"Servants of God ! or sons,
Yours is the praise, if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march
Fainted, and fallen, and died."

Among those providers for and caretakers of the poor was one Ernan.¹ There were many famous Ernans or Marnans in the Irish Church. There was Ernan a priest, already men-

¹ Ernan = *dear* or *little* Ern : Mernan = Mo-Ern-an, my dear Ern.

tioned in the Third Order of Saints, and another of the same name was abbot in Tory Island. One of the twelve disciples who accompanied Columba into Alban was Ernaan, or Ernan, his maternal uncle. The saint had also a nephew of the same name. He was selected by Columba to be overseer of the favourite monastic retreat of that saint in an island called Hinba, which has hitherto remained unidentified. Lanigan was of opinion, considering that George Buchanan refers to Inch-marnock as Mernoca, while a Columban house stood on the isle, that this Hinba might be Inchmarnock.¹ It is more likely, however, that Hinba was nearer to Iona. Dr Skene identifies it with one of the Garvelloch group. Here Columba was visited by four renowned founders of monasteries, Comgall, Cainnech, Cormac, and Brendan the Voyager. In the words of Adamnan, Columba's biographer: "They chose with one consent that St Columba should consecrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist in the church in their presence: . . . and there, while they were celebrating the solemnities of the Mass, St Brenden Mocu Alti, as he afterwards told Comgell and Cainnech, saw a certain comet-like fiery globe, and very luminous, on the head of St Columba, who was standing before the altar and consecrating the holy oblation; and (it continued) burning and ascending upwards like a column, until they finished the most holy mysteries."² In the same place he also received wonderful visions and visitations from heaven.

There was another Ernan, Ernaine mic Cresene, or Mernoc, whose name, according to Dr Reeves, is preserved in Kilmar-

¹ Lanigan, 'Eccl. Hist.', vol. ii. p. 168.

² Adamnan's 'Columba,' lib. iii. cap. 17. Reeves' ed., pp. 219-222.

nock and Inchmarnock. He was a servant-boy in the monastery of Clonmacnois when Columba visited that school about the end of the sixth century. Perceiving him touching the hem of his garment, Columba seized the boy and looked at him. The bystanders asked the saint to pay no heed to "the unfortunate and naughty boy," and were answered by this prophecy: "This boy, whom ye now despise, will henceforth be very agreeable to you, and will improve from day to day in good conduct and virtue; and will be gifted by God with wisdom, learning, and eloquence."

In the Aberdeen Breviary, St Marnan or Marnock is referred to under the date March 1, A.D. 625; in the Irish Calendars the festival is placed at August 18, and the saint identified with Ernin of Rathnew in Leinster and Kildreenagh.¹ As a preacher he became venerated as a God on earth—"tanquam Deus in terris." He appears to have come to Banffshire, where, at Aberchirder, he died at an advanced age, and was buried. At least his relics were deposited there. The saint's head was brought out periodically with great solemnity to be washed, and the water used for that purpose was dispensed for the healing of maladies. Accompanied by the clan Innes, the head was carried in public perambulations around his church at Aberchirder, and oaths were frequently taken and bargains made in its presence.

Of this Ernan the Felire of Ængus says:—

"Mac Cresini Mernoc
Morais Fradait fairind,"—

i.e., Mernoc, son of Cresen, magnified the Lord with numbers.

¹ 'Brev. Aberd.,' pars hyem. fol. lx. b. lxi.; 'De Scot. Fort.' (Paris, 1631), pp. 108, 109; Marian Gorman, 'Cal. Dungall,' p. 223.

The 'Annals of Tighernac' chronicle his death at 1st March 625—"Quies Ernaine Míc Cresene"; but other annalists, whom Usher follows, assign his death to 635 A.D.

It is to none of these evangelists I venture to assign the honour of impressing his name in public memory in reference to the Inch. In a list of saints whose natal days were unknown, Dempster gives "Ernanus, Abbas in Buta in Scotia."¹ This shows that Dempster dissociated Ernan from Marnock of Kilmarnock, whose day he gives, and from other Ernans, who were priests or bishops. That Inchmarnock sheltered a community of regulars is evident from the words of Fordun: "Inchemernoc, sive insula Sancti Mernoci et ibi cella monachorum"—Inchemernoc or the Isle of St Mernoc, and there a cell of monks.² In the Life of St Brendan we seem to light upon a trace of the founder of this retreat, and to him our western shores are indebted for attracting the great gospel-voyager here in his quest for Elysian fields.

One evening when St Brendan was "in his warfare" in south-west Ireland, his nephew Barinthus, a scion of the southern house of Niall, came to him in much mental distress, but with prayerful spirit. St Brendan inquired why he should thus be sad, when Barinthus replied: "A disciple of mine, Mernocatus by name, procurator for the poor of Christ, has fled from my sight, and has wished to become a solitary, and he has discovered an island beside the mountain Lapiflis, called 'the delicious island.' After a long interval it was reported to me that he had several monks, and that God had displayed many miracles through him. And so I determined

¹ 'Meno. Scot.'

² 'Scotich.,' ii. cap. x. Ed. Goodall, vol. i. p. 45; Skene's ed., vol. ii. p. 39.

to visit my pupil." The narrative tells how, after a three days' voyage, master met pupil, accompanied by his brethren in the work of the Gospel. Their habitation was spacious. Their food was apples, nuts, roots, and herbs. Mernocatus then embarked with Barinthus to exploit a lovely land—"the land of the promise of the saints," he called it—lying to the east, bathed in light, rich in fruitage, gay with flowers, and glistening with precious stones: Christ was its light alone, and it lay open for the inheritance of His saints, some of whom were already in possession to greet the visitors.

After a stay of forty days, in which they were nourished by no earthly food, the explorers returned to Mernock's isle, to be welcomed by their brethren, who recognised from the fragrance of their garments that the voyagers had been lingering in Paradise.

On hearing of this singular experience, St Brendan, with whetted curiosity, determined also to set out in search of this promised land, so that the flight of Mernoc was the origin of the many strange quests in early and in medieval times for the Isles of the Blest. Mernan's name is fixed in Ardmar-nock, Tighnabruaich, and in Kilmarnock near Toward, Cowal. In Kilbarron, the church of Barinthus near Tralee, we find a word very like Barone Hill.

The scene of the legendary exploits of St Brendan is, without doubt, laid in the western seas from Brittany to Orkney, and, though often confused, the local character of the wild isles in the Caledonian sea cannot be mistaken. If, with one MS., we read for Lapiflis, "*montem Lapidis*"—the mountain of stone—we could locate the isle at Ailsa Craig, or "Paddy's Milestone," a landmark to guide the mariner to the "delicious isle" of Inchmarnock, which, always fertile, was formerly

covered with a luxuriant forest of oaks and nut-trees. That Inchmarnock was formerly prolific of nuts was remarkably illustrated a short time since when the present tenant of South Park was draining in a moss, which is also full of magnificent oak-trees. He alighted upon a bank of nuts, about 3 feet in thickness, all of them preserved by their peaty envelope. Arran had the poetic name of Eamain Abhlach, or Eamania of apple-trees :—

“The appley Emhain of the yews,
Smooth top-coloured are its trees.”

Alban itself might be the mythmaker's “land of promise,” open to the coming Goidelic saints, since early geographers always placed it east of Erin.

Romance, then, may be fitly wedded with fact in the selection of the prayerful pupil of Barinthus as the recluse who first set foot on Inchmarnock, and founded the little oratory “Kildavanach”—church of the monks—which Blaeu in 1662 fixes on his map. At first he would be alone, like Cieran and Catan, Molios and other hermits :—

“His dwelling a recess in some rude rock;
Book, beads, and maple-dish his meagre stock;
In shirt of hair and weeds of canvas dressed,
Girt with a bell-rope that the Pope has blessed.”

But clamorous converts would invade his solitude, and persuade him to become their “papa” or spiritual father. A church and its accompanying settlements arose. Blain mentions that in his day “the island was also furnished with a devil's cauldron situated near the south corner,” but I have not been able to regain traces of this “desert” or “carcair” to which the eremites retreated. How, when, or where Ernan died cannot be ascertained. As the birds hush their songs

and drop unseen in the forest, so has vanished the hermit of the Inch. He must have undertaken his pilgrimage before 530 A.D., when St Brendan began his wanderings, as Kessog, the hermit of Luss, did out of the same province of Munster.

The only visible remains of this interesting settlement are the extra verdant turf of the cemetery, now converted into a stack-yard, and a single slab or cross-shaft carved with three small crosses on one face, and a larger cross on the reverse. A few of the ancient cists still lie under ground unmolested. The churchyard, which had attained no small repute "in the isles around," continued to be used within the memory of the last generation. Another graveyard known as "The Women's Burial-place" was traceable in a field adjoining the church about thirty years ago.

The church existed into the eighteenth century. The stones of it were sacrilegiously applied to build the adjoining farmhouse; but the tenant, Alexander M'Donald, afraid of conscience-struck, wrote the Rev. Dugald Stewart, parish minister of Rothesay, detailing the affair, and offering to make a money atonement for the grave offence. The minute of session, of date 24th April 1718, runs thus:—

"The minister reports he had the other day received a letter from Alexander M'Donald in Inchmarnock bearing: That lately, when his house was a-building, the masons, without his knowledge, had carried away sundry stones out of the chappell, and put them in the walls of the house; and when the same came to his knowledge, he was highly displeased, and caused a mason value what stones were so misapplied, and in consideration for the said stones taken out of the chappell to build his house, he sent ten pounds ten shillings Scots to the session, to be by them applied to the behoof of the poor as they thought meet, which letter and money the minister presented to the session; and the letter being read

coram, the session appointed the treasurer to take the said ten pounds ten shillings and charge it with the ordinary collections."

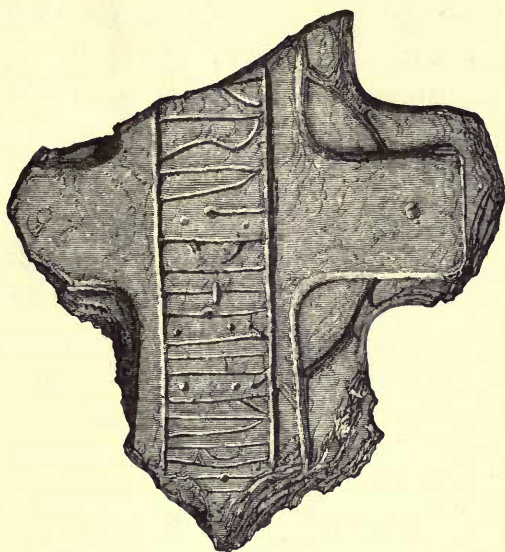
More than a hundred years afterwards some of the grave-stones were utilised as "bissen-stones" in an adjoining cow-house. Soon a mysterious malady destroyed the cattle. The unhappy victim is said to have reverted to an old custom, once prevalent in the Highlands, for appeasing the offended deity, and offered a burnt-offering of a sheep or cow upon the sea-shore. There still exists a doggerel diatribe, called "Inchmarnock Churchyard, or the Gall's Sang," which was sung through the Rothesay streets in 1829, in reference to this incident.

The medieval history of Mernoc's Isle is, as yet, involved in obscurity. A single relic of Norse occupation was brought to light in 1889 in the old churchyard by Mr Charles M'Phee, the farmer. It is the fragment of a rune-inscribed cross-slab, of schistose slate, forming that part where the arms of the cross unite with the shaft. The mutilated inscription runs: ". . . KRUS . THINE . TIL GUTHLE . . ."—*i.e.*, This cross to Guthleif or Guthleik. Nothing is known of its associations or the person it commemorated.¹ (See chap. xiv.)

The inhabitants of Inchmarnock have from time immemorial recognised the jurisdiction of the church of Rothesay parish till the isle was incorporated in the parish of North Bute in 1844. What grounds there were for supposing that it was *extra parochiam*, and attached to the lands maintaining the Cistercian Monastery of Saddell, I have not found out.

¹ "Notice of a Fragment, &c.," by G. F. Black; 'Proc. Soc. Antiq.,' vol. xii., new series, pp. 413, 438-443.

It is said to have been granted to the monastery by Roderick of Kintyre, a grandson of Somerled of Man, about the year 1220. No trace of such a gift appears among the charters of the house still extant. Perhaps the awkwardness of collecting the teind sheaves gave rise to the idea that, like the lands of the Cistercians, it was exempted, by a Papal constitution, from paying dues.



Head of Cross with Runic Inscription found on Inchmarnock.

The Celtic evangelists and hermits went when and where the spirit moved them. After throwing a twig in the air the pilgrim marked the direction it pointed to, as it lay on the ground, and followed that till he found a desirable cell. At first he was more scantily provided for than the islander hermit (*eremita insulanus*) of Inchcolm, who was "content with such poor food as the milk of one cow and the shell and small sea-fishes which he could collect."

St Catan, who gave his name to Kilchattan Bay, Little and Mickle Kilchattan farms, and Suidhe Chatain Hill in Bute, was a contemporary of Ernan, according to the most trustworthy accounts.¹ Unfortunately the biographies of two pilgrims of the name of Catan, Cathan, Keddan, or Caddan have been intermixed. In the Irish and Latin 'Life of St Patrick,' Catan is mentioned, along with Acan or Brogan, as a presbyter whose duty, among the domestic ministers of St Patrick, was the care of the guests.²

When St Patrick was engaged preaching in Northern Ulster "a son of light" was born to Madan, a Dalaradian Pict of royal lineage. This youth, Catan by name, was educated by the aged St Patrick in the last quarter of the fifth century, and by him set apart as a bishop. Being of the First Order of Saints, A.D., 440-534, who were bishops, he neither despised the services nor the society of women. His intense religious enthusiasm showed itself in frequent fasting. It grew into the yearning for the solitary life, for which he relinquished the activity of the episcopal office.³

So, accompanied by his sister Ertha or Bertha, he sought retirement and a cell in Bute, somewhere beneath the shadow

¹ "17 May. Insula Buta Cathani episcopi qui S. Blani ex Bertha sorore avunculus unde Kilcathan locus dictus. Georg. Newton."—"Menolog. Scot." 'Acta Sanctorum,' by John Colgan, pp. 233, 235. Louvain, 1645.

² The Egerton MS. 'Life of St Patrick' gives: "Cruimthir Catan ocs Cruimthir Acan a da foss"—Presbyters Catan and Acan, his two waiters; "Catanus præsbyter et Ocanus præsbyter duo hospitalarii sive hospitum ministri," *ibid.* The 'Book of Lecan,' as cited by O'Donovan, 'Four Masters,' A.D. 448, has "Cruimthir Cádán ó Tamlachtain Ardda, > Cruimthir m Brogán a da fosmesi:" 'Trip. Life.' W. Stokes. Vol. i. p. 265; 'Tria. Thaum,' Colgan, p. 167. (Lovani, 1647.)

³ George Newton, Archdeacon of Dunblane, says: "Sanctus Catanus Episcopus, ut solitariae ritæ impensius vacaret."

of the hill which retains his name, and, as one tradition points out, on the southern side of Kilchattan Bay. No visible trace of his oratory survives. Here the fair name of Ertha and the holy fame of the saint were stained by the birth of Blaán, whose paternity Ertha attributed to the spirit in a local fountain, as we shall shortly have occasion to mention again.¹ Other narrators tell how King Aidan of Dalriada was his father.² This is a manifest anachronism.

From the 'Life of St Molios of Glendalough,' who was the son of Gemma, daughter of King Aidan, it appears that Blaán was the uncle of Molios. And it is not very probable that a son of the sister of a pupil of St Patrick (died 463 or even 493) could have been born so late as to be the son of Aidan (532-606); and yet that pupil, Catan, is said to have educated Blaán as well.³ There is evidently a confusion of facts. The Irish honoured Catan on the 1st February; the Scots on 17th May. The Irish Catan may have been the hospitaller of St Patrick's hospice, whose tomb is still shown outside the church at Tamlacht Ard, Londonderry. The other, our local Catan, was probably that Pict whom we find penetrating northward, planting a church in Gigha, the possession of the clan Neil, passing on to Colonsay and Iona, and at last settling at Scarinche in Lewis, where tradition says his remains were preserved. Macleod of Lewis, gratified by the conduct of Abbot Maurice at Bannockburn, requested him

¹ This well, still called St Catan's well, is pointed out on the farm of Little Kilchattan, and it is most probable it was beside the original church. The well is carefully built, and is approached by some ten stone steps. It is now covered but still in use.

² Colgan, 'Act. Sanct. Hib.,' vol. i. p. 234.

³ "In festilogiis enim nostris S. Cathanus, S. Blani educator appellatur."

to come to Scarinche, where Macleod had erected a church in honour of St Catan. It was then affiliated with the Abbey of Inchaffray.

But Dempster, Camerarius, and others maintain that this hermit rests in Bute.¹ Still another account makes the mother of Blaen a daughter of King Aidan, which would make Catan a son of the celebrated conqueror of the isles.² Catan is also placed with SS. Columba, Comgall, and Cainnech at the school of Clonard.

Whatever these discrepancies show, it may be accepted that one of the earliest of the Celtic missionaries was this retiring bishop, who, upon his lofty seat, in devotion, drank in the loveliness that lay on land and sea between him and his far-off Dalaradian home, and in his lowly cell schooled the wonderful boy, whom, in his anger, he cast adrift with his mother, but who was destined to outrival his fame.

During the last century several families in Bute bore the honoured name of Mac-gill-chattan—son of the servant of Catan; and on account of the frequent occurrence of names similarly connected with those of saints who had churches dedicated to them in this vicinity—*e.g.*, Mac-gill-munn, Mac-gill-chiaran, Mac-gill-mhichell,—and connected with church offices—*e.g.*, Mac-gill-espy (bishop), Mac-gill-Christ, &c.,—I am inclined to trace its origin to the bishop rather than to the chieftain, who is credited with giving his name to the clan Chattan—the older chiefs of the clan being probably the “Coarbs” of St Catan, as falls to be afterwards explained.

¹ Brockie MS., p. 8319, quoted in Gordon's ‘*Eccl. Chron. for Scot.*,’ p. 275.

² Reeves, ‘*Culdees*,’ p. 46.

The reference to that prolific clan, the Mac-gill-chiarans, brings up the name of a distinguished visitor in Bute. Last century that ancient family lived in every farm and cot in the district of the Neils, and had their own burial-ground at Clachieran (Claodh Chiarain), near Glechnabae. Now they prefer the common name of Sharp. In the very heart of the land of the Neils, and not far from the ruined fortalice of Nigel, the hereditary crowner in Bute, stood an old chapel bearing the name of Cilkeran. Faint traces of it existed in the time of Blain (p. 92).

The Ciaran, whose name was esteemed second to none among the Celts, was the spotless youth, Ciaran Mac an t-saoir (Macintyre)—the son of the artificer—whom Columba sang as the “lamp” of Erin, and Alcuin called “the glory of the Scottish people.” He never looked upon a woman nor told a lie, ’twas said. With Columba and Brendan, probably Blaán also, he had his place among the Second Order of Saints—*i.e.*, the Columban type. This class consisted mostly of priests, admitted diverse liturgies, had a British Mass, served various rules, and excluded women from the monasteries and service. As his name implies, *the dark-complexioned man*, Ciaran, though born in Meath, was of Dalaradian extraction, and was born about the year 515. At Finnian’s great school at Clonard he was associated with Columba, Brendan the Voyager, and other celebrated men whose names are household words. He placed himself under the discipline of famous abbots, and served their houses with the greatest humility and sanctity. Shortly before his untimely death by pestilence, on 9th September 549, he founded the monastery of Clonmacnois, which had a most eventful history. Scottish tradition makes him seek a temporary retreat or

"desert" in a cave in the neighbourhood of Campbeltown, Kintyre; the Gaelic name of which is Kilkerran or Cill-Chiarain.

He is also commemorated in Kilkerran in Ayrshire, and other places in the west. In the absence of historical data, and not underrating the value of tough tradition, I see no insuperable difficulty in believing that Ciaran, among the many pilgrims, sought a short retreat from his abbatial labours in Bute, hallowed as it was with the work of St Ninian. Here then, in honour of him, admirers built the now forgotten chapel and called themselves by his now forgotten name. But long after his departure his spirit remained enshrined in the hearts of his enraptured associates, and we read of St Columba carrying from his grave, in Erin, some dust which he cast into the devouring whirlpool of Corryvreckan to transform its ragings into peace. Of the intermittent efforts of such missionaries, unhappily, we have now no record.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHRISTIAN ODYSSEY.

"A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard
 In spring-time from the cuckoo bird,
 Breaking the silence of the seas
 Amongst the farthest Hebrides."



WHEN the rough Kerry shepherds gathered round "The Wedder's Well" (*Tubber na molt*) in the Clachan of Tubbrid near Ardfert, and, in A.D. 484, heard that an infant son had come then to Finlogha, of the tribe of Hua Alta, of the celebrated stem of Fergus Mac Roy, it is scarcely probable that they could perceive the growing halo with which imaginative monks have invested the life of Brendan. Yet round this well to this day the peasantry gather on St Brendan's Festival in honour of him. His birth was according to the horoscope of St Patrick, by that time resting in the grave. He had prophesied in the rushy swamps of Kerry that the great patriarch of monks and star of the Western world would arise into the light in West Munster. Such a reading of the stars was the best blessing he could leave to the Church of south-west Ireland, which he and Ailbe, Bishop of Emly, had long and lovingly fostered. And very timely came this wandering

star which was to shed the heavenly light when the greater luminaries were hidden from the darkness resting on the isles of the Western seas. The story of his life, conceived from such a miraculous introduction, had the necessary foundation for a superstructure so overloaded with romantic absurdities as to threaten destruction to the real facts of a wonderful career. But the tenacious hold of his memory by the baysmen and islesmen, from the sunny south of Europe to the ice-cooled shores of the north, and probably to the New World as well, is a sufficient recognition of the existence of a hero, who fearlessly ploughed the sea in Christ's name, and whose adventures could not be adequately illustrated to rude but pious ages without the aid of the myths which now obscure the fame of the voyager. His life and travels, written in many languages, circulated widely in the middle ages throughout Europe, and nearly every great library possessed some antique manuscript, in prose or verse, of the "Acts of S. Brendan." From the siftings of these the story which follows is pieced together.¹

The precise place of Brendan's birth was Alttraighe Caille, situated in Ciarraighe Luachra—*i.e.*, between Ardfert, Fenit, and Tralee.²

¹ For the life of St Brendan the following works may be consulted: 'Peregrinatio Sancti Brandani abbatis,' included with a Latin and three German texts in 'Acta Sancti Brandani,' by Right Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D.: Dublin, 1872. 'Sancti Brandani,' by Dr Carl Schröder: Erlangen, 1871. 'St Brandan: A Mediæval Legend of the Sea, &c.,' by Thomas Wright: London, 1844 (Percy Society, vol. xiv.) 'La Légende latine de S. Brandaines,' by Achille Jubinal: Paris, 1836. 'The Hermits,' by Charles Kingsley: London, 1890. 'Notes on Irish Architecture,' by Lord Dunraven, vol. i: London, 1875. 'Acta Sanctorum Bolland,' Mai iii. 599 ff; cf. Juni ii. p. 229. Adamnan's 'Columba,' by Reeves, p. 221, footnote.

² 'Book of Lismore,' fol. 72.

The parents of Brendan, Finlogha and Cara, committed their son to the pious charge of his relative, the youthful virgin Ita (+570). She was a daughter of a princely house in Munster, and from her infancy was imbued with Christian principles, so that she was considered the St Brigid of Munster by the pupils who frequented her nunnery.

Thereafter Brendan came under the tuition of St Erc (+512), also a Munster man, probably Bishop of Slane, with whom he remained till he was ready to study theology at Cluainfois, under St Jarlath of Tuam. From St Erc he afterwards received the priesthood. The distinguished monastic school of Clonard was then attracting students northward to the banks of the Boyne, and St Finnian the abbot, himself a pupil of the great British teachers, was inspiring the youth of Erin with his own enthusiasm.

St Finnian combined with great learning, especially in the Scriptures, a touching simplicity of character and a severe abstinence in the way of living. Mother-earth sufficed him for a bed and a stone for a pillow. He was content with bread and herbs with a cup of water for his food, with occasionally the luxury of a fish accompanied by a little whey or native beer. He died about 552 A.D. Among his 3000 scholars were the twelve apostles of Ireland, of whom Ciaran, Brendan, and Columba brought greatest fame to this "doctor of wisdom."

The biographers next convey Brendan to Britain or Brittany on a pilgrimage undertaken, on the advice of St Ita, as an atonement for the death of a person by drowning, of which Brendan accused himself of being partly a cause. Here he met St Gildas, probably in his monastery of Llan-carfan in South Wales. In Britain he instituted a school,

thereafter returning to his native land, about the year 540 or 550 A.D. How long Brendan remained in Britain can only be conjectured, but it seems to have been on his return that he founded several churches and the famous monastery of Clonfert in Galway, of which he was abbot.¹ Three thousand monks flocked to be under his rule at Clonfert and its dependent houses—for it was said an angel brought him his Rule from heaven. Nor did he neglect female education, but set up a nunnery at Enach-duin, now Annadown, Galway, and installed his sister Briga as the abbess of it.

From Adamnan's 'Life of St Columba,' we also find him, along with other renowned abbots, visiting St Columba in one of the Western Isles, as before mentioned.² At last his pilgrimage ceased, and he found rest within his sister's house at Annadown, on Sunday, the 16th May 577 A.D., in his ninety-fourth year. His remains were buried at Clonfert.

The feast of St Brendan is marked in all the ancient martyrologies at the 16th of May. Dav. Camerarius has: "Sanctus Brandanus Abbas, Apostolus Orcadum et Scotticarum insularum." St Ængus, in his Festology under that day, says:—

"The summons of Brendan of Cluain
Into the victorious eternal kingdom."

The gloss explains—"i.e., the calling of Brendan of Clonfert to the kingdom of God." Marianus O'Gorman styles him, "Brendan without a particle of pride;" Selbhach refers to

¹ "557, Brendinus ecclesiam in Cluain fertha fundavit." — 'Ann. Ulster.' Ware dates foundation 558; 'Four Masters,' 553; 'Annals of Innisfallen,' 562.

² In a poem attributed to Columba his old friend sings (Adamnan's 'Columba, Reeves, p. 287)—

"It is in the West sweet Brendan is."

his "penitential countenance;" and the poet St Cuimin of Connor, in his eulogy of the Hibernian saints, recounts how—

"Brendan loved perpetual mortification,
According to his Synod and his flock;
Seven years he spent on the great whale's back:
It was a distressing mode of mortification."

The Latin Life of St Brendan (*Vita S. Brendani*), edited by Dr Moran from the *Liber Kilkenniensis*, treats of his life in twenty-nine chapters, thus:—

"1. Birth of St Brendan. 2. The sanctity of St Brendan foretold by Becc Mac De. 3. Baptism of St Brendan; he is placed under the care of St Ita. 4. St Brendan educated by St Erc. 5. St Brendan accompanies St Erc in his missionary visitations. 6. St Brendan by a miracle saves the life of a fellow-traveller. 7. A fountain of water issues forth at the prayer of St Brendan. 8. Through the prayers of St Ita and the exhortation of St Brendan, St Colman embraces a life of perfection. 9. St Brendan visits St Jarlathe of Tuam. 10. St Brendan writes his Religious Rule. 11. St Brendan restores a dead youth to life; is ordained priest by St Erc; founds monasteries in his native district. 12. Three thousand religious serve God under the rule of St Brendan; he visits St Ita, and founds the monasteries of Inishdadromm and Clonfert. 13. St Brendan miraculously frees the town of Bri-uys, in Munster, from a plague of insects. 14. One of St Brendan's religious, through obedience, exposes himself to death. 15. St Brendan, by the counsel of St Ita, sets out on a penitential pilgrimage to Britain; his visit to the monastery of St Gildas. 16. Miracles performed by St Brendan at the monastery of St Gildas. 17. St Brendan commends the patronage of St Brigid, whose soul was at all times absorbed in God. 18. St Brendan erects a cell in Inis-meichiund; the King of Connaught makes a gift of the island to St Brendan. 19. St Brendan restores to life one of the religious of Inisadromm. 20. St Brendan restores to liberty a man sorely distressed in captivity. 21. St Brendan, in his seventy-seventh year,

founds the monastery of Clonfert; one of its religious restored to life. 22. St Ita, on Christmas night, receives the Holy Communion from St Brendan. 23. Miracle of the Holy Virgin St Chiar. 24. St Brendan visits the holy saints of Meath. 25. St Brendan explains to his religious how intolerable are the pains of hell. 26. St Brendan exhorts his religious to confide in the providence of God. 27. St Brendan saves the province of Connaught from an invasion. 28. St Brendan visits his sister, St Bryga, and makes arrangements for his interment in Clonfert. 29. Death of St Brendan in his ninety-fourth year."

In the same work Dr Moran publishes "Oratio Sancti Brendani" (from two MSS., one in St Gall, the other in Bibliotheca Sessoriana, Rome), "Vita Metrica Sancti Brendani" (Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus.), and the "Navigatio Sancti Brendani" (Colbert MSS., Paris), all three in Latin.

The halo of romance lingers round the name of St Brendan in connection with the marvellous sea voyages he was credited with making in search of the *land of promise*. Any reputation he may have gained by his adventurous spirit in the carrying of the Gospel to little frequented shores, where he reared his wattled or beehive churches, was lost in admiration of the impossible phantasies revealed by his life. The hard and bitter facts of his brave mission experience have been refined away into the misty visions of sickly souls, so that in the "Legends of the Saint" we have only a ghost of one of the greatest missionaries of the West. Fired with a like enthusiasm, his fellows betook themselves over land; Brendan, like Torannan and Columba, sought his destiny in the sea. No doubt, long before his day, the tale of many an Odysseus, pagan and Christian, had reached the mount of Brendan, from whose top the pilgrim looked over his Kerry home into the silver sea. It is said that before he

undertook his great voyage of discovery he made a short run to visit St Enda, in the isles of Aran.

His pilgrimage was a young man's dream rather than an old man's hope. So I would date the beginning of his adventures before he crossed over to Brittany, and I would circumscribe their locality to the Western Archipelago of Ireland and Scotland. If his pilgrimage occurred after his adventures in Brittany, he would have learned good ship-craft from the bold Bretons. He is made in "The Acts" the hero of his own enterprise, and easily found in adventurous comrades.

"He put so much of soul into his act,
That his example had a magnet's force,
And all were prompt to follow where he led."

The vision of St Mernoc's land filled his soul (see above, chap. vi.); and imagination set the light of Paradise over the prow of his boat. His fourteen monks and he had framed its well-ribbed sides, and covered them with oxen hides, well tanned in oaken bark, and smeared at every crevice with good Irish butter. With "a wet sheet and a flowing sea," a keg of butter to tan fresh skins, and food for forty days, the mission-ship took the water, "in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Away they ploughed with curving sail for fifteen days into the north-west, when the master called them to the irksome oars, for lack of wind. The provisions ran out just as they approached an almost inaccessible isle, very precipitous, like Ailsa or St Kilda. A dog gave them welcome to a town wherein was a luxurious home richly prepared for the voyagers' comfort. This the saint soon discovered to be a temptation of the devil, and under his spell one of the monks died there.

After other incidents, with favouring breeze they set out again, and reached an island whose many fountains swarmed with fish, and whose fields were white with sheep as great as oxen. It was the eve of Easter. A man they encountered told them no man milked the ewes, and winter never pinched them, hence their size. It is well to recollect that there is a Sheep Isle near Pladda, and that one of the Orkneys is called Shapinsha, or the Sheep Isle. The Northmen also called the Faroes "Sheep-isles" (Fær-eyiar).

This man also told the visitors where they were to spend Easter, on an isle beside the "Paradise of Birds." To it they came—a queer stony land, without port or beach or turf. The saint kept to the anchored boat, while his messmates sang Masses and began their cookery ashore. As the fire kindled and the pot boiled over, the island rustled and moved and took to flight in the ocean, with the flaming lighthouse on his back. To his terrified friends, saved by the skin of their teeth, the master explained how that was the greatest of oceanic monsters—Jascon by name—and his life-work was to try to grasp his tail in his mouth,—a feat of marine dexterity which the grossness of his body prevented him always accomplishing.¹

¹ In Blain's 'History' (pp. 437-443) are preserved the remarkable depositions of Captain Robert Jamieson regarding the appearance in the Western seas of an island a mile and half long and 30 feet high, and also of another between Bute and Arran. Of the latter he said: "I have heard people mention a like appearance in the same place, but do not know whether this was at the same time. *Had they been able to place fire upon it, they say it would have remained above the water.*" Blain also refers to a similar mirage seen between Ardlamont and Skipness: "*The country people give it the name of the Green Island.*" These coincidences, taken in connection with the story of Mernoc and Brendan, are very striking. According to Dr Healy ('*Insula Sanctorum*,' p. 214): "To this day

At a later stage of their peregrinations they came back and kept Easter on Jascon's back,—“a difficult mode of piety,” as an Irish writer of old said,—and the leviathan gaily carried the mission over to the Paradise of Birds.

Thereafter they visited an isle—grassy, full of flowers and trees. A snow-white bird flew with tinkling wings to meet the saint, and tell him how the snowy birds they saw were spirits of the dead. And there they sat and sang and praised the Deity with the sweet rhapsody of their wings. The vocal bird also foretold how Brendan had to wander seven years in his quest o'er the main. After many romantic adventures they reach the “Isle of the family of Ailbe,” where Christmas was spent among the Silent Monks, who had been there since the time of St Patrick and St Ailbe. It was a weird company. For these monks never grew older, never changed, never spoke, never cooked earthly food, for God cherished and nourished them.

The story proceeds and evidently relates to adventures among the crystal icebergs of the ocean and the volcanic appearances of Iceland. These may have been additions from the “Lives” of other saints who penetrated into the far north long after the time of St Brendan.

One of his discoveries was the infamous Judas, whom he discovered sitting on a craggy rock, in mid-ocean, with a veil flapping him on the face as the waves beat on or around him. Matthew Arnold, in his beautiful poem of “Saint Brandan,” thus describes the scene :—

the existence of O'Brazil, an enchanted land of joy and beauty, which is seen sometimes on the blue rim of the ocean, is very confidentially believed in by the fishermen of our Western coasts. It is seen from Aran once every seven years.”

"Saint Brandan sails the northern main;
The brotherhood of saints are glad.
He greets them once, he sails again;
So late! such storms! The saint is mad!

At last (it was a Christmas night;
Stars shone after a day of storm)
He sees float past an iceberg white,
And on it—Christ!—a living form.

That furtive mien, that scowling eye,
Of hair that red and tufted fell—
It is—oh where shall Brandan fly?—
The traitor Judas, out of hell!

Palsied with terror, Brandan sate;
The moon was bright, the iceberg near.
He hears a voice sigh humbly, 'Wait!
By high permission I am here."

He cried anon, "I am miserablest Judas, of bargainers the worst;" and he went on to acknowledge how that flapping rag was a special mercy of Christ sent as a luxury amid his fiery torments, which were spared him on the great festival days. At other times, with Herod, Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas, he agonised in hell. The demons who come to take Judas back to his torments were cursed and rebuked by the saint, and then the story leaps away to tell of an old gravedigger of St Patrick's monastery, who lived on an isle in a cave upon water, and was found by the voyagers.

After being piloted to the Isle of Birds by their old friend Jascon, they are guided south by a resident of that isle, after a voyage of forty days, to the Promised Land. Darkness invested it. But a light soon illuminated its shore. They wandered in its fragrant orchards in the luscious tide of autumn. Forty days without a night passed by. They admired the

mighty river in the land. Its fruits and gems they gathered to show their wondering friends at home. So setting sail once more they reached "The Isle of Delights," and the stout company disbanded to less romantic toils—which oftentimes, no doubt, were lightened by the memories of the perils of the deep.

The romance of Brendan was long accepted as a truthful narrative, in so far, at least, as the Land of the Promise of the Saints was concerned. The Isle of Brendan became the quest of navigators. The King of Portugal looked upon it as one of his possessions, and down to 1721 expeditions were sent out specially to seek it.

Since this chapter was written, the Marquess of Bute delivered a lecture to the Scottish Society of Literature and Art in Glasgow on 19th January 1893, upon "The Fabulous Voyage of Brendan," in which he suggested that Brendan was of a hypnotic temperament, highly sensitised, restless, and impelling him to migratory efforts on behalf of the Church. The founding of Clonfert Monastery was the chief act of his life. This learned paper has been published in 'The Scottish Review' (vol. xxi., No. xlii.) It concludes with the following passage:—

"I look upon Brendan's wanderings in the Western Isles soon after his ordination, in search of a place wherein to found a monastery, as the only scrap of historical basis, at any rate as far as he was concerned, which the romance possesses. The Life says that he reached many islands, but instances only two, one of these being the so-called Land of Promise as above, and the incidents are not of a very startling character. No one on the other hand will deny that the Voyage narrates a series of incidents of a very startling character indeed, and it seems to me beyond possibility that some of them, such as the Judas episode, can have even a legendary basis,

or be anything but pure, unmitigated, intentional, avowed, undisguised fiction, like the incidents of any novel of the present day. It seems to me that there is in the romance more resemblance to Lucian's 'Traveller's True Tale' than is likely to be accidental, and the Land of Promise indeed occupies a position somewhat similar to that held by the Islands of the Blest in that remarkable skit. Again, I think that the Burning Island with its forges, and its monstrous inhabitants hurling rocks into the sea after the voyagers, and the great black volcano piercing the clouds, is very suggestive of Etna and the Cyclopes as described in the Odyssey. It must be remembered that Greek scholarship was a good deal cultivated in ancient Ireland. My own impression is that the author, whoever he was, was a very pious man, who had read Homer and Lucian, and to whom it occurred that it would be a nice thing to write an imaginary voyage which might unite similar elements of interest and excitement with the inculcation of Christian, religious, and moral sentiments. For his own purposes he plagiarised them a little, and I am very far from wishing to contend that it is impossible that he may also have worked in some vague accounts of the wonders of the Western and Northern seas, and possibly of America, which had reached his ears from the adventurous voyages of the Norsemen, if indeed his date were late enough, possibly of even earlier navigators, now to us unknown. But as an whole, I look upon the 'Fabulous Voyage' as a composition which is really only differentiated by the elements due to the time and place of its birth from religious novels such as those which enrich the pages of the 'Leisure Hour' or the 'Sunday at Home.'"

Many churches and places retained the name of the saint, as in Kilbrannan Sound; churches in Mull, St Kilda, Seil, Isle of Man (Kirk Braddon), Birnie, where his bell was; and numerous fairs at Banff, Kirkcaldy, Kilbirnie (with its Brinnan's Well), and other places kept up his memory. His cell is still preserved on Inisglora—*island of purity*.¹

¹ Dunraven's 'Notes on Irish Architecture,' vol. i. p. 43.

If the 'Martyrology' of Aberdeen is to be credited, Bute was *par excellence* the scene of his cult; and here "the natal day of St Brendan, abbot at the royal isle of Bute, and the abundant acts and stupendous miracles of his life, and pilgrimage by sea and land," were celebrated on the 16th day of May.¹

From time immemorial the natives of Bute have called themselves "Brandanes," apparently after the saint. Fordun declares that the serfs of the Steward took their name from Brendan, and the isle its title from the voyager's booth or cell—"Brandani scilicet de Botha."² No trace nor tradition of the booth now survives. Aidan, the King of Dalriada, had a heroic nephew and general named *Brendinus*, who fought in Mannan in 582, also a son named *Bran*; but while his followers might have assumed his patronymic, there is, on the whole, a fitting connection between the islesmen of Bute and the saintly sailor Brendan. The MS. Annals of MacFirbis state that, up to the year 700 A.D., "the clergy of Ireland went to their Synods with weapons and fought pitched battles, and slew many persons therein." The "Brandanes" may thus have been the Hibernian colonists and seculars of Bute who followed King Aidan in his heroic campaigns in Alban, under the leadership of the "Coarb," or ecclesiastical successor of St Brendan (or St Blaán), an office probably conferred on "The Steward," whom the Brandanes followed at a later date.

¹ "In Scotia natalis Sancti Brandani Abbatis apud regulam insulam de Bute cuius vite et peregrinationis marisque et terrarum copiosa jesta et stupenda miracula enarrare nemo mortalium de facili possit que non sermonibus explicanda sed gloriosis signis quibus indies claret comprobandis."—'Martyr. Aberd.,' xvii. Kl. Junii.

² Fordun, 'Scot.,' xiii. cap. 32; Goodall, vol. ii. p. 315.

CHAPTER VIII.

BELTED KING AND ROYAL ABBOT.

"Darts shall bound from the edges of shields,
 With him shall go forth his grey men,
 The rider of the swift horse, no lie,
 Shall traverse Erin in one day.

He was a sage, he was a prophet, he was a poet,
 He was a wise one of the Son of the God of heaven,
 He was a hero, he was a cleric, pure, austere,
 He was a son of virginity, he was a priest."¹

—ST BERCHAN.



N this strain, some sixty years before the events, did St Berchan, according to the credulous monks of the eleventh century, prophesy the advent of the two most remarkable heroes who appeared in the West in the sixth century—Aidan, the first King of Alban, and Columba, the royal Abbot of Iona. St Berchan, in his ecstasy, declared of Columba that "Heaven and earth were full of him." The subsequent fame of the missionary vies with this striking prophecy throughout the page of history. An admirable biography, compiled from contemporary sources by Adamnan, a successor in the abbacy

¹ 'Chron. Picts and Scots,' pp. 83 and 79.

in Iona (679-704), keeps green the laurels nobly earned by the dauntless pioneer for Christ. But, as I have before indicated, Columba was far from being "the first who ever burst into that silent sea." The white sail of Gospel-voyager as well as of Ulidian buccaneer was well known in every bay and shelter on the Western coast, generations before his time. Almost as nebulous as the Orion of the heavens is the Nimrod of Leven—Saint Kessog—who is depicted with bow and arrow ready for the chase. This patron saint of Cumbrae, and formerly of the warriors of Leven, peregrinated from Munster to the Moray Firth. Faolan the leper retreated into the wilds of Perthshire, around Dundurn, to teach the Picts of the Earn. Others, such as Modwenna the Virgin, recounted the wondrous works of St Patrick throughout Galloway and the Lothians. Nor were the isles left unvisited by Hybar and Maccaile, and probably even by St Brigid herself. The British Church had also left a trail of glory to guide Columba in the pagan darkness.

The age, however, had fast ripened into readiness for the reception of Christian morality and truth, and as part of the great movements then occurring is noticed the fusing of the incoherent colonies of Hibernian invaders in maritime Caledonia into a union of petty states under a powerful king. These Dalriadans, from the northern districts of Ireland, having, after two centuries of foray, firmly established themselves in Kintyre, Argyleshire, and in the adjacent isles—Inchegal—were, like true Celts, too restless and pugnacious to settle down to the gentle art of fishing, when they had neighbours to spoil. They penetrated northward, menacing the kingdom of the northern Picts, then ruled by Bruide Mac Maelcon. These incensed Cruithne, in turn, fell upon the

foreigners and killed their king, Gabrain, son of Domangart, in 560 A.D. Emboldened by their success, they further repelled the marauders within the confines of Kintyre and Cowal to that stretch of territory between the fort of Dunadd or Dunmonaigh, near Ardrishaig, on the west, and the hill of Dunoon on the east. Gabrain was meantime succeeded by his nephew Conall, son of Comgall, who, as king of the New Dalriada, ruled over the united lands of Gabrain and Comgall, now Kintyre, and "Cowal with its islands"—Bute, doubtless, among the number.

It was three years after this reverse, 563, that Columba, "with twelve disciples, his fellow-soldiers, sailed across to Britain." It was the night of Pentecost he landed—happy omen for pagan Caledonia! His interest there was direct and potent—for royal blood as much as Gospel grace gave the new-comer his overmastering influence among his Dalriadic kinsmen. The blood of "Conn of a hundred battles" was in him. The liveness of forty-two years, and the well-trained acuteness of a mind, royal in faculty as in origin, made Columba a masterful personage. He was of the reigning house of Ireland—the Nialls—and within a measurable distance of the throne itself. When he was born, on the 7th day of December 520 A.D., at Gartan, in County Donegal, they called him Crimthan—a wolf. Christianity was to tame him. The two renowned Finnians, of Moville and Clonard, taught him; a native bard, Gemman, poured melody into his soul, whose echoes he afterward consecrated to the Church; Etchen, Bishop of Clonfad, ordained him priest, the simple office he retained as Abbot of Iona. Moved with the missionary spirit then prevalent, he resolved "to seek a foreign country for the love of Christ," and left the churches

and seminaries he had reared in his native land. He made his way to King Conall's camp, and when among his kinsmen there, described a battle in Erin, which in his vision he saw there and then proceeding. This incident shows the interesting relationship still subsisting between colony and fatherland, and Columba made this bond the basis of his missionary enterprise. According to Adamnan, he received the grant of Iona from his relative, King Conall; according to Bede, from the Pictish King Bruide. Probably both claimed suzerainty over its debatable land.

The faint remembrance and association of the name of Columba in place-names and in fairs, at Caolisport, in Arran, Cumbræ, Largs, Rothesay, may be the memorials of his residence in Dalriada. Adamnan gives no reference to the saint's visits to Cowal nor Bute, and, what is very remarkable, makes no mention of local contemporaries like Catan, Blaau, and Molaise. Nor is there any dedication of a church in the immediate vicinity to any of the twelve followers of Columba. "In 1516 King James V. granted to Sir Patrick Makbard the chaplainry of Saint Columba in the Isle of Bute, with liberty to discharge the due burdens and services either personally or by substitute."¹ Monroe, in 1549, refers to a chapel "under the castle of Kames," which doubtless was that at St Colmac in North Bute, where formerly stood the church of that name, not far distant from Kildavannan, which might be associated with Adamnan, since these two dedications are often found together.² Otherwise the site of St Columba's church has not hitherto been identified.

¹ 'Orig. Paroch.,' vol. ii. p. 224, quoting 'Reg. Sig.,' vol. v. fol. 57.

² See Appendix.

Blain records (p. 82) that a chapel formerly stood in Glen-callum, having been erected as a mark of gratitude by a pious mariner saved from shipwreck. The district of Columshill, near St Brigid's Chapel, Rothesay, may have some connection with the honoured missionary's visit.

It is not to be assumed that Columba exercised no local influence nor displayed his spiritual powers in the southern parts of Dalriada. Being more intensely occupied in spreading the light in more benighted heathendom, he was not required to plant churches in a region favoured by the visitations of British teachers, and, as we see, ministered to by the relatives of King Aidan himself. That the field was occupied is somewhat corroborated by the absence of any reference to the church in Bute in the Annals recording the work of the monks of Iona, until fifty years after the death of King Aidan, when, in 660, the family of Loarn sat on the throne of Alban.

About 505 A.D., Columba advanced boldly through Pictland as far as the seat of Bruide's sovereignty at Inverness, where he converted that monarch. The Gospel had early fruition. War upon the Christian Scots lulled. The slogan was exchanged into the melody of the mission bell; the clash of blades into the music of the Mass. But Celt and Pict would not be tamed, though converted *en bloc* by order of their kings.

In 574 King Conall died, and the same year his hosts, led by Duncan his son, were destroyed at the battle of Delgen in Kintyre. It is said the king perished there as well. This opened the throne to Aidan, Edan, or Edom. Where he and his four brothers had been awaiting this turn of affairs is not known. It was likely among the Britons in his mother's

country. Columba, who was called in to consecrate Aidan as king, refused, "because he loved Jogenan his brother more," until, after some salutary inflictions by an angel, he was soon brought to a better state of mind. This was, perhaps, only a euphemistic way of declaring that the man of peace feared "the little firebrand"—as Aidan's name implied—a name his after-career did not belie. The Cymric bards even went the length of calling him "Vradog," or the false one. With the aid of this angel's "glassy book of the ordination of kings," Columba ordained Aidan king in Iona, this being the first consecration of a Christian king in Britain.

The evolution of political events in Britain, Alban, and Erin, had opened up a brilliant destiny for the proper man. Aidan was the man of destiny. His lineage was right royal. On his father's side he had the blood of the Nialls in his veins; on his mother's that of "Old King Coyl." Through Lleian, daughter of King Brychan, who gave his name to Brecknock in South Wales, he was connected with one of the three holy families of Britain, and also with many powerful reigning families among the Cymry and Gael who had married out of Brychan's house. These "Men of the North,"—"Gwyr y Gogled," as the Cymric bards styled these chieftains,—afterwards became the allies of Aidan when he combined Dalriads and Brythons against the Picts in the north, and the pagan Angles in the south of Strathclyde.¹ At this epoch the Brythons in Alban were divided into small independent states ruled by their own petty kings, who, with Aidan, claimed descent from Maxim Guletic, or the Emperor Maximus, who obtained

¹ The country between the Ribble and the Clyde, except Pictish Galloway, was called by the early Welsh writers "Y Gogled." Sometimes it referred only to the Brythonic country north of the Solway.

command of the Roman forces in Britain, and was proclaimed Emperor in 383 A.D. After the departure of the Roman soldiery the office of leader of the British forces, "Dux Britanniarum," was retained by a powerful general, styling himself the Gwledig or over-king. This office Aidan seems to have inherited or assumed, and to have exercised in the great struggle between the Roman or Christian party, and the Anglic or pagan party, which culminated in the victory of Ardderyd, near Carlisle, in 573, when the former prevailed. The result of the battle was that Rydderch was established as King of Cumbria or Strathclyde, over the consolidated states of the Cymry, with his seat of government at Alclud or Dunbreatan, now Dumbarton. Where Aidan held sway is not certain, but Dr Skene thinks that Aidan was a petty king before this for five years, "among the nations south of the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and seems to have had claims upon the district of Manan or Manann, peopled by the Picts." His policy illustrates the spirit of a Crusader rather than that of an adventurer. His blood made him cosmopolitan, his faith statesmanlike. Of purpose, or unwillingly, he fulfilled the so-called prophecy of St Berchan:—

"He is the first man who shall possess in the East
After the vexation to the Cruithnigh.
He was a red flame, he awakened battle,
The anxious traveller."¹

As soon as he had inaugurated his government he crossed to Erin, accompanied by his *Anmcara*, soul-friend, Columba, to make terms as to paying tribute to the mother country. At the Convention of Drumceatt, in Londonderry, in 575, the

¹ 'Chron. Picts and Scots,' p. 82.

eloquence of the royal monk settled the independence of colonial Dalriada, and Alban was turned from a tributary to an ally, to be united with Erin only in hostings and reciproca-tion of hospitality.

The "anxious traveller" returned to carry his "red flame" in every direction. He ranged from the Orkneys to the Borders, now assisted by Ulster auxiliaries against the Picts on the banks of the Forth, now chasing the Angles back into Bernicia, anon campaigning in the Isle of Man. For twenty years victory followed the soldiers of the Cross. But in 596 a woful disaster befell the king. Aneurin and Taliessin, who were Cymric bards coeval with Aidan, tell the harrowing tale in the "Gododin Poems." Their hero is known as "Mynyddawg," or the mountaineer. The poet depicts the gay host circling the bivouac, listening to the minstrel's song, and drinking the enervating wine, before the battle of Catraeth:—

"Together they drank the clear mead
By the light of the rushes :
Though pleasant to the taste, its banefulness lasted long."¹

They had drawn their blades, "white as lime," in defence of the faith—"blades full of vigour in defence of baptism," and wearing their golden torques, had rushed into the unequal fray.

Overcome in their wassail, "their life was the price of their banquet of mead."

"Though they went to church to do penance,
The inevitable strife of death was to pierce them."

The poem describes how the body-guard of three hundred

¹ 'Four Anc. Books of Wales,' vol. i. p. 374 *et seq.*

heroes,—the armed muster of the Clan Gabran numbered three hundred,¹—were all slain, Aidan alone escaping :—

“Of the retinue of Mynyddawg there escaped none
Except one frail weapon, tottering every way.”

This battle of Catraeth was apparently the same as that of Chirchind, fought in 596, in Gododin, a district near the Forth, held by the Meati, at which Aidan's four sons, Bran, Domhanguart, Eochaidh, and Arthur fell. “Ring the bell,” said Columba in far Iona, and as the monks ran to prayers, he cried, “Now let us pray the Lord earnestly for this people and Aidan the king, for at this hour they go into battle.” So they prayed. Thereafter the visionary looked into the sky, and exclaimed, “Now the barbarians are put to flight, and to Aidan the victory has been given, but it is a sad one.”²

But the aged hero was not daunted. He hated the pagans heartily. Again we see him, in 603, leading an allied force of Scots, Picts, Brythons, and mercenaries or clansmen from Ulster, down to the Borders, to humble the ambitious king of the Northumbrians, Ethelfrid. Bede thus refers to it: “Hereupon, Ædan, king of the Scots that inhabit Britain, being concerned at his success, came against him with an immense and mighty army, but was beaten by an inferior force, and put to flight; for almost all his army was slain at a famous place called Degsastan, that is Degsastone.”³ Later writers made this break his brave heart.

¹ “The armed muster of the Cinel Gabran, three hundred men.”—‘Chron. Picts and Scots,’ p. 312. “The Cinel Gabran, five hundred and three score houses in Kintyre, the district of Cowall with the islands. Twice seven benches to each twenty houses, their sea muster.”—P. 314.

² Reeves' Adamnan, ‘Life of Columba,’ pp. 33, 36.

³ Bede, ‘Eccl. Hist.,’ bk. i. c. 34.

That was the last of his valiant enterprises. His success had been the security of the Western Church, and in his reign flourished Brendan, Columba, Catan, Blaan, Molaise, and Kentigern. He was the founder of the Scottish monarchy. He survived by three years his old ally Rhydderch, and by nine the saintly abbot who placed the crown on his head. In 606, at the ripe age of seventy-four, the sceptre fell from his hands, after he had reigned thirty-eight warring years, of which he was for thirty-two years King of Alban.¹ Of his ten children—Arthur, Eochaidh Fionn, Domhangart, Eochaidh Buidhe, Tuathal, Bran, Baiothin, Conang, Gartnait, Maith-gemm—four were slain in battle in 596—viz., Arthur, Eochaidh Fionn, Domhangart, and Bran; and Conang was drowned in 622. Eochaidh Buidhe succeeded to the crown, and died in 629 A.D.

The place of his death is not mentioned by the Irish annalists, but John of Fordun records that he died in Kintyre, and is buried at Kilkerran, where none of his predecessors had been interred.² According to Father Hay, "Convall, a pupil of Kentigern, lived att Inchinnan, some 7 miles from Glasgow, and made the funerall discourse att King Aidanus Buriall."³

But Bishop Leslie, in his History, mentions, without citing an authority, that King Aidan was buried in Iona. I suggest Bute as his resting-place on the following grounds. Above Ardbeg Point there lies a little farm, now designated Rulicheddan, but a century ago noted in Dr Maclea's Visiting-Book as Reiligeadhain, which signifies the burial-place of Eadan—*reilig* being the Gaelic form of the Latin *reliquiæ* or

¹ 'Chron. Picts and Scots,' p. 68. 'Ann. Tigh.'

² 'Chron.,' lib. iii. cap. xxxi. vol. i. p. 117. Skene's ed. Edinburgh, 1871.

³ Hay, 'Scotia Sacra,' MS. Adv. Lib., p. 30.

reliquium. On part of the farm, close to the highway where Eilyer Cottage now stands, on a mound beside the Point House Burn, there existed till about twenty-five years ago an immense cairn, some twenty feet high, which was only a portion of a larger cairn which was used as a convenient quarry. In 'The Statistical Account of Buteshire,' published in 1841, the following footnote is found: "A tumulus on the side of a small stream near the Point House has been partially opened, and is found to contain many human bones mixed with the stones. It is said to have been the scene of a bloody battle between the Bannatynes of Kames and the Spences of North Kames."¹ In 1858, when the stones were being removed, it was discovered to be a place of prehistoric burial, and eighteen cists, each about 30 inches square, containing in some cases black dust, in others sepulchral urns, were laid bare round the circumference of the cairn.²

Again, at the final removal to obtain material to build the dykes round Kames Bay, a cist—now built into the wall at Kames Castle Gate—was found in the centre of the cairn. The cist was about thirty inches square, and contained dark, apparently burnt, ashes, together with a rudely ornamented urn, which on being handled broke into fragments.

The form of burial was evidently that of the pagan or early Christian era. To add to the historic interest of the spot is the Gaelic tradition lingering there.³ Wilson, in his 'Guide

¹ 'Stat. Acc.,' p. 103.

² My informant is Mr Duncan Keith, Rothesay, an eyewitness who assisted at the work.

³ My informant is Mr Malcolm Mackinnon, Kames Castle Lodge, who opened the cist.

to Rothesay,'¹ gives a different version of the tradition, in which Spens, a young laird of Wester Kames, was the luckless hero, but this is not in keeping with the age of the cists found in the cairn.

"The cairn covered the remains of a great hero. He was wont to wear a belt of gold, which, being charmed, protected him on the field of battle. One day, however, as he rode a-hunting accompanied by his sister, the maid, coveting the golden talisman, prevailed upon him to lend it to her. While thus unprotected he was killed,—whether by enemies or mischance the attenuated tradition does not clearly indicate; and this cairn marked the warrior's grave."

This allusion to a belted hero has a great significance when it is recollected that a gold belt was the insignia of office of each of the "*Duces Britanniarum*"—the three military commanders of Roman Britain. This badge or girdle was assumed by the native successor of this duke, who took the name of *Gwledig*, and with it the authority of an over-king among the Kymry.²

Birth, as well as martial prowess, seems to have been King Aidan's right to wear this belt, as has been previously pointed out; one account making him a descendant of Maxim Guletic, another of Ceretic Guletic, whom Dr Skene identifies with the very Coroticus who held the Christians in subjection in the time of St Patrick.³

This place-name—Reilig-Aedhain—may thus be our last memorial of the tomb of this brave and noble Christian king, who may have rested from his labours there when Bute—

¹ P. 60. Rothesay, 1848.

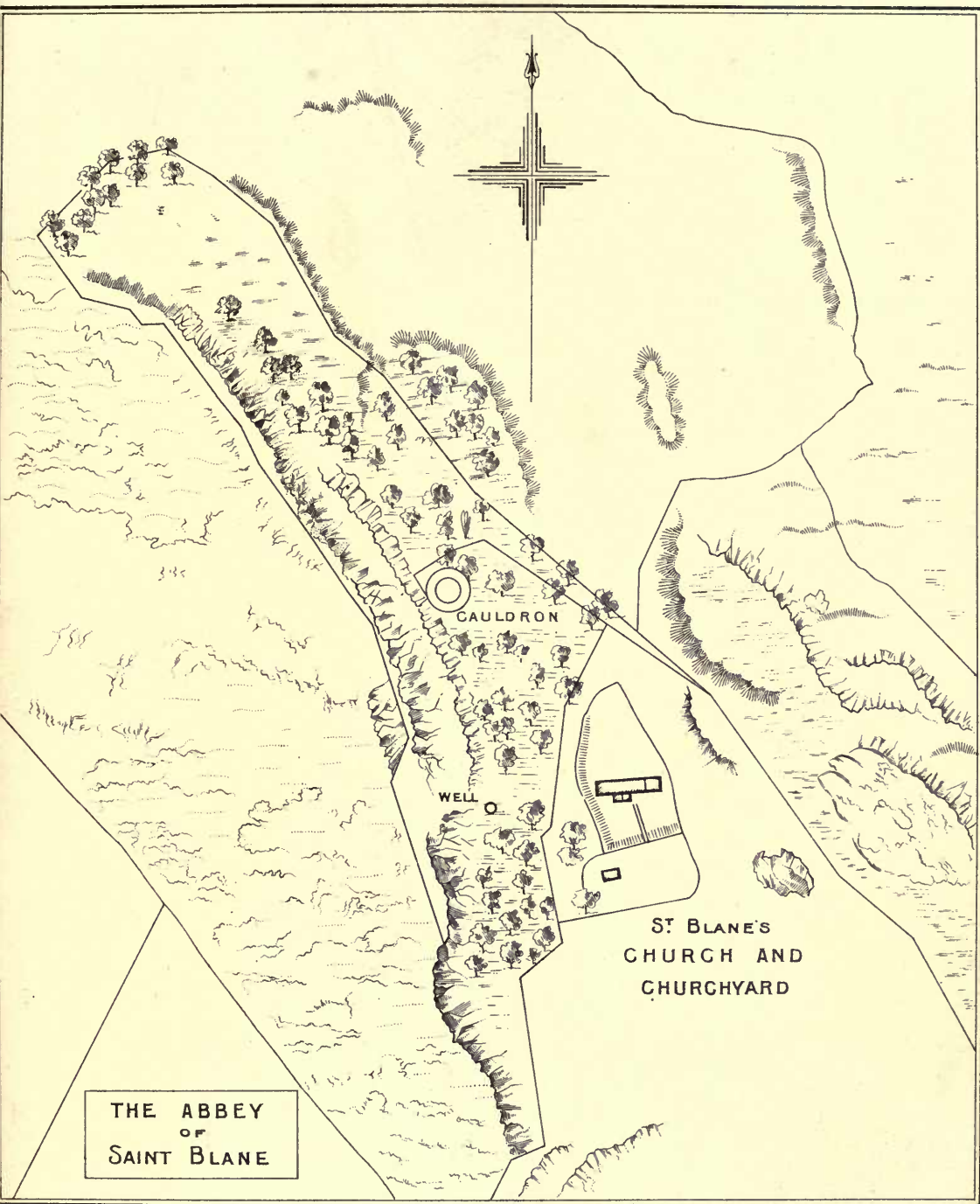
² Rhys, 'Early Britain,' p. 119.

³ 'The Four Anc. Books of Wales,' W. F. Skene. Edinburgh, 1868. Vol. ii. p. 455. C. S. Vol. i. pp. 158, 160.

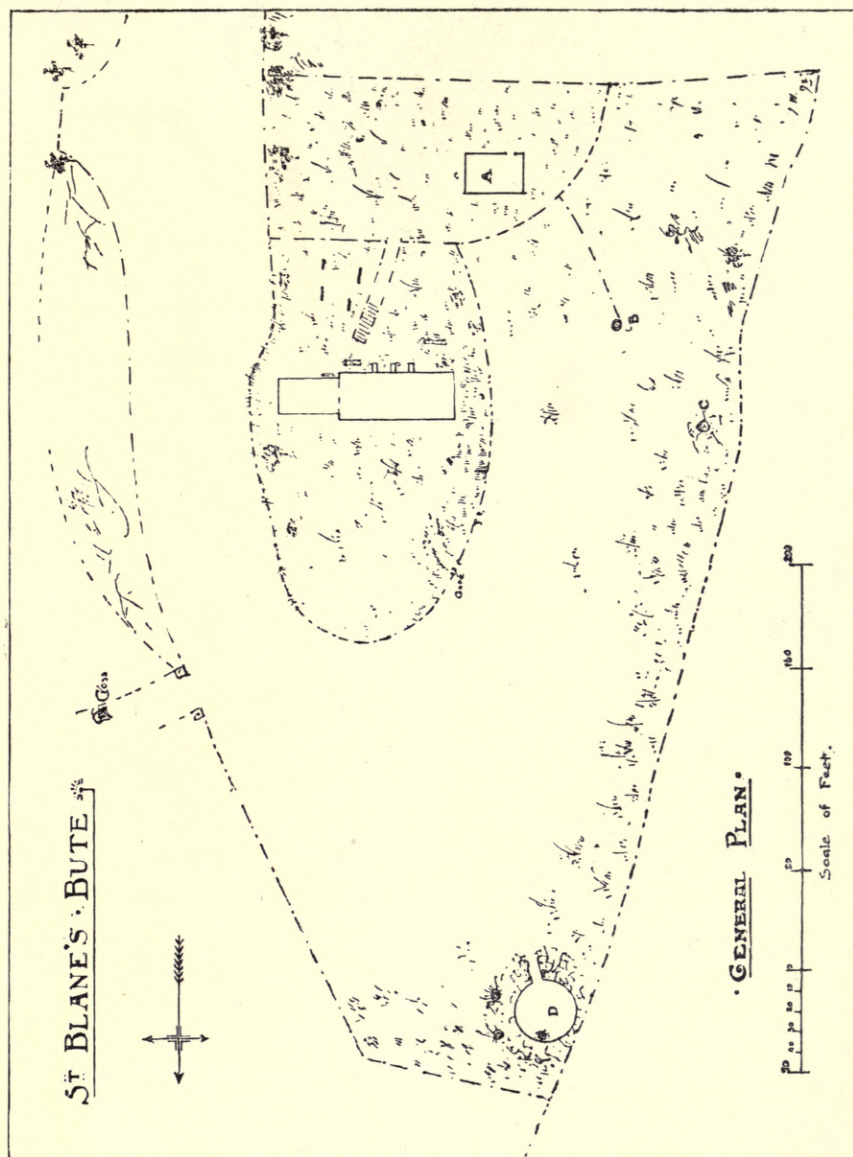
part of the realm of Kintyre—was the brightest emerald in the diadem of Dalriada, and here—

“Thy mourners were the plaided Gael;
Thy dirge the clamorous pibroch sung.”

With the enterprise and phenomenal success of Aidan's royal contemporary, Abbot Columba, among Scots and Picts, this history is not designed to deal. Suffice it to say that the best proof of the rapidity and thoroughness of the propagation of Christianity at this epoch is found in the numerous dedications of churches bearing Columba's name — there being thirty-two among the Scots and twenty-six among the Picts. His personal influence and the influence of the Church which owned his special rule and polity are appraised in the fulfilment of the saint's own prophecy regarding Iona: “Small and mean though this place is, yet it shall be held in great and unusual honour, not only by Scotie kings and people, but also by the rulers of foreign and barbarous nations, and by their subjects; the saints also, even of other Churches, shall regard it with no common reverence.”







GROUND-PLAN OF ST BLAAN'S CHURCH, CHURCHYARD, AND PRECINCTS, BEFORE 1874.



CHAPTER IX.

“BLAAN THE MILD OF CENNGARAD.”

“At eve, within yon studious nook,
I ope my brass-embossed book,
Portray'd with many a holy deed
Of Martyrs crown'd with heavenly meed ;
Then, as my taper waxes dim,
Chant, ere I sleep, my measured hymn.”

—WARTON.



UBRICIUS, Kentigern, and Blaan of Kingarth were sons of virgins.¹ Mystery hung over their cradles—if they had such luxury at their romantic births. Ertha or Bertha—a maid from Erin—was residing with her holy brother, Catan, in the vicinity of the tawny shore of Kilchattan, when the misfortune of Blaan's birth occurred. It was a rude age, and she laid the blame of her sin upon an unknown Apollo ; it was a heroic age, and some attributed his fatherhood to Aidan the king ; it was a superstitious age, and the neighbours were afterwards pleased to believe that the potent spirit who haunted the holy well of St Catan was the sire of the boy who brought renown to their isle.

¹ The Gaelic-speaking natives pronounced Blane's name *Blawn*.

It was the Celtic custom then to expose frail maids and their offspring in a skiff made of a single hide to the mercy of the sea. To this fate the irate priest cast the babe and his mother. However, a counteracting Providence gently guided the coracle to her native land, where, warned by some premonition of the advent of a great personage, at a place called Beuthorne in north Ireland, the two renowned Pictish bishops, Comgall and Cainnech, were waiting to receive the child.¹ In other words, the friends of Catan, Comgall, founder of the monastic school of Bangor, and Cainnech, founder of Aghaboe, with whom it is said Catan and Columba were at the school of Clonard, were intrusted with the education of Blaán for seven years. He returned to Bute with his mother in his youth, in a boat without oars or sails, of course, and was then honourably received by his uncle. Catan brought him up to the service of the Church. Soon he displayed miraculous

¹ This Comgall, one of the fathers of the Irish Church, was of distinguished family in Dalaradia, and was born about the year 517.¹ After completing his studies in Britain, he founded the monastery of Benchor, in the now insignificant village of Bangor, near the Bay of Carrickfergus, in 558. He composed a Rule for his house which was very strict and exacting. The devotion of his community attracted so many pupils that it was necessary for their superior to build additional houses and cells for their accommodation. It was said three thousand lived under his rule, and these were divided into seven alternate choirs, of three hundred singers each, who adored in song the Deity, night and day. This school was a university devoted to varied studies, as may be proved by the refined scholarship of the great Columbanus of Bobbio, who shed such lustre on this monastery, where he was educated. St Comgall, like his pupil St Columbanus, followed the liturgy used by St Patrick, called the "Cursus Scottorum." He died in 601. Cainnech, the friend of Comgall, Brendan, and Columba, also a Pict, born about the same time as Comgall, was educated in Britain under Docus, and returned to Ireland to found Aghaboe, at least before 577. He died in 599.

Both of these holy men came to help Columba in his Pictish mission in the Western Isles, Comgall founding a church in *Terra Heth* or Tíree.

¹ Montalembert, 'Monks of the West,' vol. iii. p. 94.

propensities. One day while they were busy psalm-singing, the fires, which were left in charge of Blaan, all went out. He, wishing no one to incur the blame of the saint, offered up prayer, whereupon fire sparkled from his finger-tips like flashes from a flint when it is struck. Catan realised his superior grace, prophesied his fame, and ordained him to the priesthood. He proceeded next to exercise priestly functions among his nearest neighbours, presumably at Kilblaan.

His biographers, as well as local tradition, transport him to Rome, there to receive a richer grace, and a securer badge of his episcopal office at the hands of the Pope.

"From his native hills
He wandered far; much did he see of men,
Their manners, their enjoyments, and pursuits,
Their passions and their feelings; chiefly those
Essential and eternal in the heart,
That 'mid the simpler forms of rural life,
Exist more simple in their elements,
And speak a plainer language."

Nor is there anything improbable in such an enterprise of faith. It was as safe and easy to go to Rome then as now,—the well-paved highway leading from Strathclyde direct to the Eternal City. And intercommunication was frequent.

As mentioned previously, southern ecclesiastics had been attracted to Ireland by the fame of St Patrick and his schools long before the successive colonies of Irish monks began to seek their homes in the warmer climes of middle Europe. The mission-ship as well as the trading vessels crossed the ocean, and in the latter were stowed away the pale-faced captives who soon won the heart of Gregory the Great, as these Angles stood like "angels" in the slave-mart of Rome.

Columbanus, for example, who was a contemporary of St Blaen in the end of the sixth century, *circa* 589, left Bangor, the same school at which St Blaen was taught, and sowed the seed of the Gospel between the Vosges and the Alps, and between the banks of the Loire and the Danube, successively preaching to Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards, till the Scottish order of monks achieved a fame second only to the Benedictines. Columbanus finally settled at Bobbio in Lombardy, not fifty miles from the Gulf of Genoa. His white marble sarcophagus, with its historical bas-reliefs, his horn-handled iron knife, and wooden drinking-cup presented to him by Pope Gregory the Great, on the consecration of the monastery in 612, and his little bell, as well as the tombs of his fellow-missionaries, are still preserved at Bobbio.

A visit to Rome was an education which Blaen could not fail to profit by. In his epoch Christianity, re-inspired with new vigour, was sanctifying the decayed grandeur of pagan civilisation, till the times, rapid of change, were ripening for the masterly policy of Pope Gregory the Great, the friend of Columbanus, patron of learning, promoter of monasticism, and the astute leader of the Church, who founded the temporal, and established firmly the ecclesiastical, power of the Papacy.

At this very time the hapless Benedictines had been driven by the Lombards from their embattled hill of Monte Cassino to seek a home in Rome. And one of the latest and most important accessions to their Order was this rich prætor of the city, Gregory, who devoted his wealth and life to Christ, and raised the monastery of St Andrew on the Coelian Hill in 575, the same year Aidan's kingdom of Alban was declared independent. Every one knows the beautiful story of this Italian

monk seeing the Anglo-Saxon slaves from Deira in the market-place, and never finding peace till, as Pope, he sent from his own monastery the famous St Augustine and his forty companions to undertake the conversion of England, about 590 A.D. These great movements were transpiring in the reign of Scottish Aidan, and St Blaan felt their impetus. No Christian pilgrim could leave such scenes without being fired in imagination, and carrying in his memory impressions from great functions, the models and practise of architecture, patterns of learning, and examples of living, of a kind far in advance of anything known or dreamt of in his native Alban. Indeed, tradition here avers that the enthusiastic monk brought with him consecrated earth to found his monastery upon, to which it is necessary to refer more fully afterwards, when dealing with the women's cemetery at Kilblaan.¹

He returned on foot. When passing through Northumbria, he heard two royal parents mourning for their dead blind son. Touched with pity, the pilgrim raised him to life, at the sign of the cross, and presented him safe, sound, and seeing to his parents. His name was Columba. Out of gratitude they presented Blaan with lands there, and on that account the church of Dunblane continued to possess, down to 1296, the manors of Appilby, Congere, Troclyngham, and Malemath. He seems to have founded a church too at Kilblain, near Dumfries, and impressed his name by the way home at Strathblane, Sutheblan, and Auchenblain, near Crossraguel, in Ayrshire.

Travel and varied experiences, such as these, refined Blaan's

¹ St Molaise of Daimhinis went to Rome, about 570, to bring back relics and consecrated clay. MS. Irish Life.

nature conspicuously above that common "when wild in wood the noble savage ran." Before distinguished as "fortis in bello," he became known as "Blaan the mild of Cenngarad," as the Martyrology of Aengus notes with the gloss—*i.e.*, "Bishop of Cenn-garad—*i.e.*, Dunblane is his chief city, and he is of Cenn-garad in the Gall-Gaedela" (*i.e.*, the Scottish islands).¹

In connection with these facts it may be stated here that the Litany of Dunkeld enumerates Blaan among the abbots, and Camerarius designates him "Blanus Episcopus Sodorensis"—*i.e.*, Blane, Bishop of Sodor, a title out of keeping with these times.²

Other writers make Blaan a Culdee abbot or bishop, about the year 1000, in Dunblane.³ Of Blaan's life in Bute we know absolutely nothing. His life by George Newton, archdeacon of Dunblane, is lost. Tradition maintains he lived and died at the church which bears his name, and overshadows his existing tomb. And Fordun has formed the tradition into history when he wrote: "Columba in Dumblan et Blanus in Botha tumulantur"—Columba is entombed in Dumblan and Blaan in Bute.⁴

There is a striking probability that St Blaan may have left Bute to visit his uncle's churches, or, on a mission, to follow on the old track of the early Pictish missionaries who had penetrated up the Earn and settled among the Caledonians. In Kintyre, the parish of Southend is made up of the

¹ 'Martyr. Christ Church,' Dublin, lxviii.

² "iii Idus Augusti.—In Insula de Boit Sancti Blani episcopi et Confessoris."—*'Mart. Aberd.'* "Augustus 10 Die. Sanctus Blanus Episcopus Sodorensis."—Camerarius.

³ "Aug. 10. In Scotia Blaani Episcopi et Confessoris, qui circa annum millesimum vivebat K.B.T."—*'Menol. Scot.'*

⁴ 'Scotichron.,' xi. 21,—Goodall, vol. ii. p. 160.

original parish of Kilblane, Kirkblane, or Kilblaan, in which Pont and Blaeu mark the sites of churches dedicated to Blaan and to Cathan. The monks of Whithorn also held lands in Kilblaan in connection with the chapel of Ninian.

Blaan's own teacher, Cainnech, had crossed the wild back of Alban before him. Hence we find a Kilblain in Greenock, the Strath of Blane, a church in Strathearn, and finally the Dun of Blane, all in the direction he was likely to take. On the south-west shore of Loch Earn, about a mile from Loch Earn Head, and near the pelasgic remains of Craggan, there exist the ruins of a little building, called St Blaan's chapel. Its foundations are of rough boulders. It is duly oriented. It measures 45 feet by 18; and to the east end what seems to have been an apse or a chancel, 6 feet long, also remains. The traces of a cashel, or surrounding wall, are also visible. It has the characteristics of one of the primitive churches of the time of Blaan, and may have been reared by himself when on his mission to the Ivernians. Now all its history is in its name—*vox et præterea nihil*.

Dr Reeves inclines to the opinion that Blaan personally exercised the function of abbot and bishop over a small fraternity at his church at Dunblane, which afforded both a name and a cathedral to the diocese, which was erected either by King David or Gilbert Earl of Stratherne, the latter of whom endowed it with a third of his earldom, before 1210. This diocese was coterminous with the earldom. According to a note annexed to Henry of Silgrave's Chronicle (1272), the Keledei, or secular priests, were the religious society of the Church, who were thus raised in diocesan importance.¹

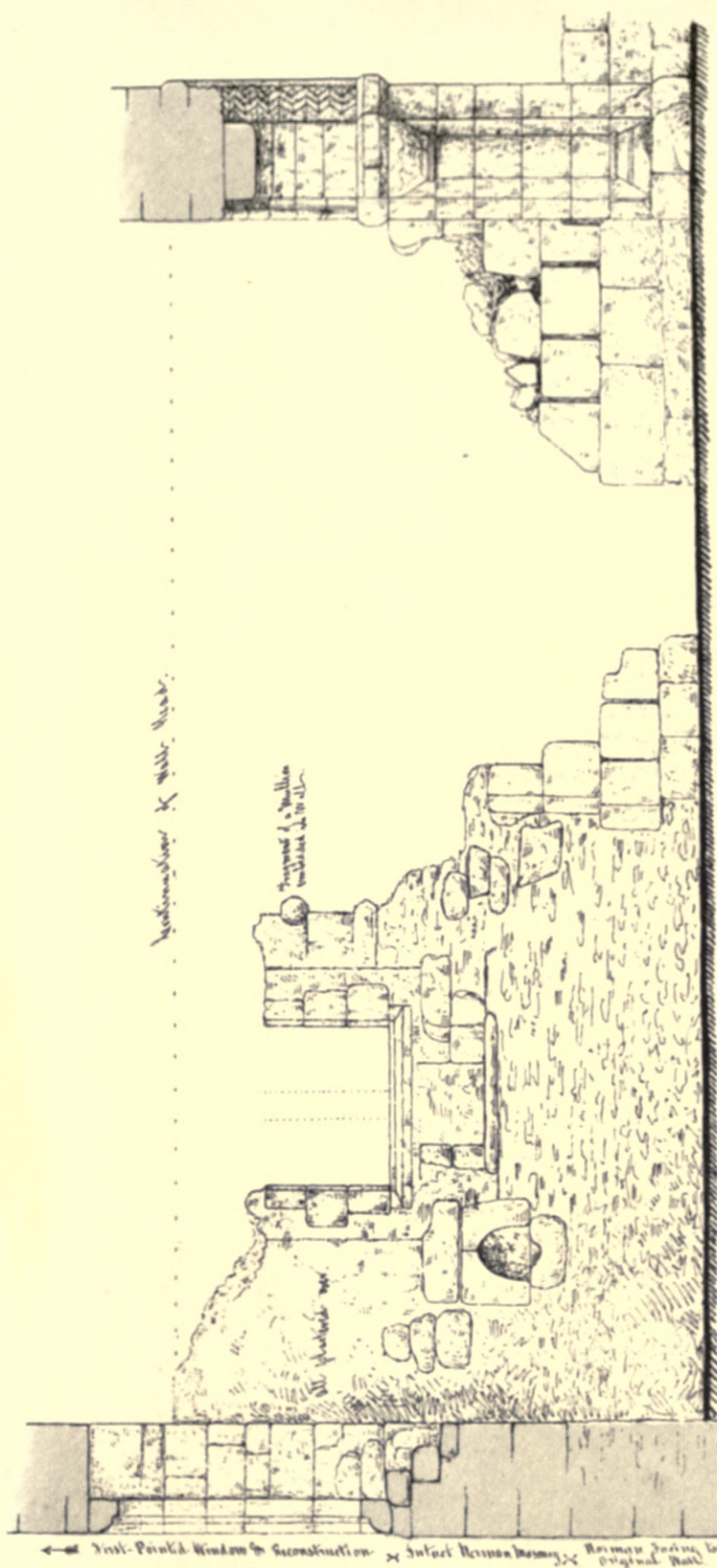
¹ Reeves, 'Culdees,' pp. 32, 46, 47.

On Blaan's return to Bute he fixed upon a nook among the southern hills wherein to found the church that bears his name, and to rear the monastic establishment over which he presided. The site is cunningly disposed to bask in sunshine, while it has a prominent outlook over hill, dale, and sea. Behind is Suidhe Chatain (516 feet), before uprears the grassy Suidhe Bhlain (400 feet), the favourite seat of the abbot, and near which, on the north slope, the country people pointed out a hollow in a stone, which they said was the impression of his foot (Blain, p. 82). Around it are the rolling fields, once covered with flocks and fruit-trees. A lovelier or serener site could scarce be found in any land. The monastery itself was embowered beneath the wind-shelter of a rocky ridge which looks down on the vitrified fort of Dunagoil. Its extensiveness may be inferred from the structural remains still in evidence. These may be classified as defensive, domiciliary, and ecclesiastical works, and I treat of them in this order.

The existence of the Dreamin' Tree edifice and other cyclopean walls, described in chap. ii., suggests the idea that Blaan sought protection for his church in the district fort. The earliest Celtic churches were built within the fortified enclosures of the chieftains who were converted to Christ, and who thereafter patronised, endowed, and protected the church. There are many recorded instances of this custom, which came to modify the external surroundings of the church. If, as is supposed, the castle of Rothesay was first a Celtic "caisel" or "rath" — a circular fortified enclosure, — the chapel of St Michael, within the court, is an illustration of this custom, rendered necessary by the disrespect shown to the struggling Church.

S. BARNES'S CHURCH, BURE.

SOUTH WALL or CHANCEL.



INTERIOR ELEVATION.

After the necessity passed away, the combination, however, long survived, till the plan of enclosing the ecclesiastical edifices within a substantial rath or cashel became general in Ireland and Scotland. Remains of these are visible at St Ninian's, Kilmory, and St Blaen's. There were three concentric walls at St Blaen's—one confining the primitive buildings beneath the ridge, another including these and the present church, and a third bounding the abbey land from sea to sea. This latter is referred to in the charter by which Alan the Steward, in 1204, disposed of St Blaen's Church to Paisley Priory:—

“Besides, I myself, for the soul of King David, also for the soul of King Malcolm, and for the soul of my father, Walter, together with that of my mother, Eschene, and for the salvation of our Lord the King, William of Scotland and his heirs, and for the salvation of myself and my heirs, give, dispone, and by this my charter confirm to the same superior of Passelet, and to the monks serving God, at the same place, the church of Kengaif [Kengar?] in the isle of Bote, with all the chapels and with the whole jurisdiction [parish] of the same isle, and with the whole land which St Blaen, it is said, formerly girded across country [or, *by a syke*] from sea even to sea, by *boundaries secure and visible*, so that freely and quietly as any church in the whole kingdom of Scotland it shall be held more free and peaceable.”¹

This disposition of Kilblaen does not appear to have been acted upon. At least, in 1224, when the monastery of Paisley was taken under the protection of the Pope, all the lands connected with it are mentioned in the bull, and Kengarth is not among them.² Nor is it mentioned in the

¹ ‘Reg. Mon. de Passelet,’ p. 15. See Appendix.

² Theiner's ‘*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*,’ p. 23. 1864.

general confirmatory charters granted to the abbey by the kings of Scotland, nor in the ecclesiastical deeds relating to the right of the abbey in its dependent churches. This Walter died in 1177, a monk of Melrose, to which house he had been a liberal benefactor.¹

From this charter it appears that the abbey land of Kilblaan was an extensive possession in the saint's lifetime, and clearly designed from sea to sea, while all the other chapels in the isle were dependants (*dalta*) upon his parent church (*annoit*). The shortest distance between sea and sea in that district—between Kilchattan and Lubas—measures one mile and one-sixth. That encloses the twenty-pound land of Kingarth, part of which still has the significant name of Margnaheglis, or the Kirk Glebe. Within it formerly resided most of the population. On the hill overlooking the church to the north, the cattle-markets were held till last century. A few years ago the Marquess of Bute had the socket of the market cross exposed to view:—

“For the cross o'er the moss of the pointed summit stood.”

A strong wall runs down to Glencallum Bay from the church, seemingly beginning at the northern end of the ridge, and I have partly made out its course in the opposite direction towards Dunstrone.

So large a property must have been a substantial grant to Catan or Blaan by a chieftain, probably their reputed relative King Aidan. Chieftains often gave large gifts of land for Christian service; and these, designated “termon-lands,” were exempted from taxation, marked out for a “right of

¹ ‘Reg. Mon. de Passelet,’ p. xv, note.

sanctuary," and were bequeathed by the possessing abbot to his personal heirs, "according to the ecclesiastical law of succession."

"The *coarb*—that is to say, the ecclesiastical successor of the original founder in the headship of the religious society, whether bishop or abbot—was the inheritor of his official influence, while the descendants in blood, or founder's kin, were inheritors of the temporal rights of property and chieftainship."¹ A lay family thus succeeded to abbey lands on becoming the hereditary possessors of the first abbot's pastoral staff or crosier. The Duke of Argyll possesses the staff (*bachul more*—a veritable blackthorn) of St Moluag of Lismore. The parent monastery from which pupils emerged to plant new churches always retained spiritual jurisdiction over its clerical progeny and the community these served. Columba in Iona thus ruled his own churches in Ireland; and the monastery of Bangor supervised Kilblaan. Hence in ecclesiastical phraseology a *parochia*, or parish, at this time, was the jurisdiction of a Superior (Abbot, Father, Senior) over the churches and monasteries of the same Rule sprung from his House. The "parish" of Blaan appears to have extended through Northumbria as far as Lindisfarne, and northward as far as Dunblane.

As regards the walls, the foundations of these defensive walls, composed of huge boulders without any cementing medium, are 6 feet broad, and run some distance nearly parallel with the ridge, then stretch away southward. It is not clear now, however, how much space they enclosed, as the continuity of the lines is lost.

¹ Anderson, 'Scot. in Early Christian Times,' p. 233. Edinburgh, 1881.

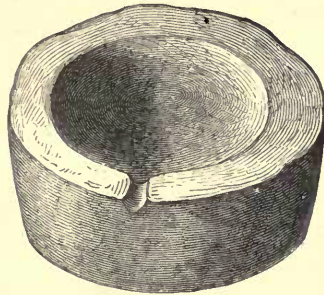
With regard to the Domiciliary Remains, the stances and foundations of edifices are distinctly visible, although now it is impossible to fix the character and use of these. Some were of stone, others of wood. They, without doubt, included the full complement of a Celtic monastic establishment or *muintir*, "the great house,"¹ kitchen,² pilgrims' house,³ refectory,⁴ dormitories for the scolocs or pupils, the school, the workshops, barn, cattle-sheds, mill, hermitage,⁵ &c. The church,⁶ chapels,⁷ and graveyard⁸ also were within the outer wall. If these buildings were of the usual Scotie construction, wattle-woven or wooden, or even built of small stones available for subsequent wall-building, their total disappearance is easily explained. In the course of the excavation here two small granite quern-tops were disinterred: the upper millstone was uncovered in the women's cemetery, where it was converted into a socket for a cross; the font was also found in the rubbish of the church.⁹

In the ground between the ridge and the church, locally called "the orchard," now shaded by magnificent ashes, at the base of the ridge is found "St Blaas's Well," also known as "The Holy Well," and "The Wishing Well." It is dry-stone built, is 3 feet broad and deep, and has been partly covered. It was suitable for well-baptism as practised in the Celtic Church. Popular tradition asserts it to be the local habita-

¹ *Tech-mor.*² *Cule* or *cuicenn.*³ *Tech-n-biged.*⁴ *Prainntech.*⁵ *Disert.*⁶ *Cell, eclais, tempul.*⁷ *Nemed, daurtech.*⁸ *Relec, ruam.*

⁹ Broken grey granite quern-top, pierced—diameter, 10 inches; thick, 3½; diameter of hole, 2 inches. Grey granite quern-top, crested, not pierced—diameter, 16½ inches; thick, 2½. Red sandstone font, pierced—external diameter, 28 inches; thick, 7½; diameter of basin, 17 inches; deep, 4; diameter of hole, 3 inches. These relics are preserved at Mountstuart. The upper millstone is 33 inches in diameter and 12 inches thick.

tion of a *sith* or spirit, who, when propitiated by the offering of a coin, is wont to give the faithful drinkers of its limpid spring a blessing, which cures sterility. Within the last decade believers in this extraordinary superstition have been known to visit the well with the requisite propitiatory oblations. A few yards distant from the well lies the stone lavatory wherein the pilgrims' feet were bathed, an irregular, hollow, sandstone block, over whose rim a runnel is cut.¹ Or the stone may have been the font used for the washing of the feet of the newly baptised.



Foot-font at Kilblaan.

The ceremonial washing of the feet or "pedilavium," not found in the Roman office, was common to the early Gallican ritual of baptism, and is thus referred to in the 'Stowe Missal':—

"Tunc lauantur pedes eius, accepto linteo accepto.

Alleluia. Lucerna pedibus meis uerbum tuum, domine."

South of the well a small recess is pointed out as "the priest's house." To this Blain apparently refers ('Hist.,' p. 73): "The minister's house stood in a sequestered spot particularly well calculated for contemplation and to excite devotion. One end was close to the precipice, and here a hermit might find a most eligible situation for his abode."

As I have before indicated, "The Deil's Cauldron" was

¹ Oval lavatory, 28 inches and 31 inches diameter; basin, 18 inches, and 19 inches diameter; depth of basin, 7½ inches; thickness, 11 inches.

originally a "broch" or place of refuge, but it is possible that it was in the Christian ages found suitable for a hermitage in connection with the monastery. Tradition characterises it as a place of penance. It might thus be enumerated among those primitive structures called *Clochans* or *Carcairs*, which formed part of the Celtic monastic settlements, and were set apart for cells for undisturbed devotions, or for the suffering of punishment enjoined in terms of the monastic rule.¹ It was a *desert* or solitude within the abbacy. Some eremites, as cited p. 125, preferred internment till death within "a carcair of hard stone" to the regular life. Of Enda of Aran the poet wrote :—

" Enda of the high piety loved,
In Ara, victory with sweetness,
A carcair of hard narrow stone,
To bring all unto heaven."

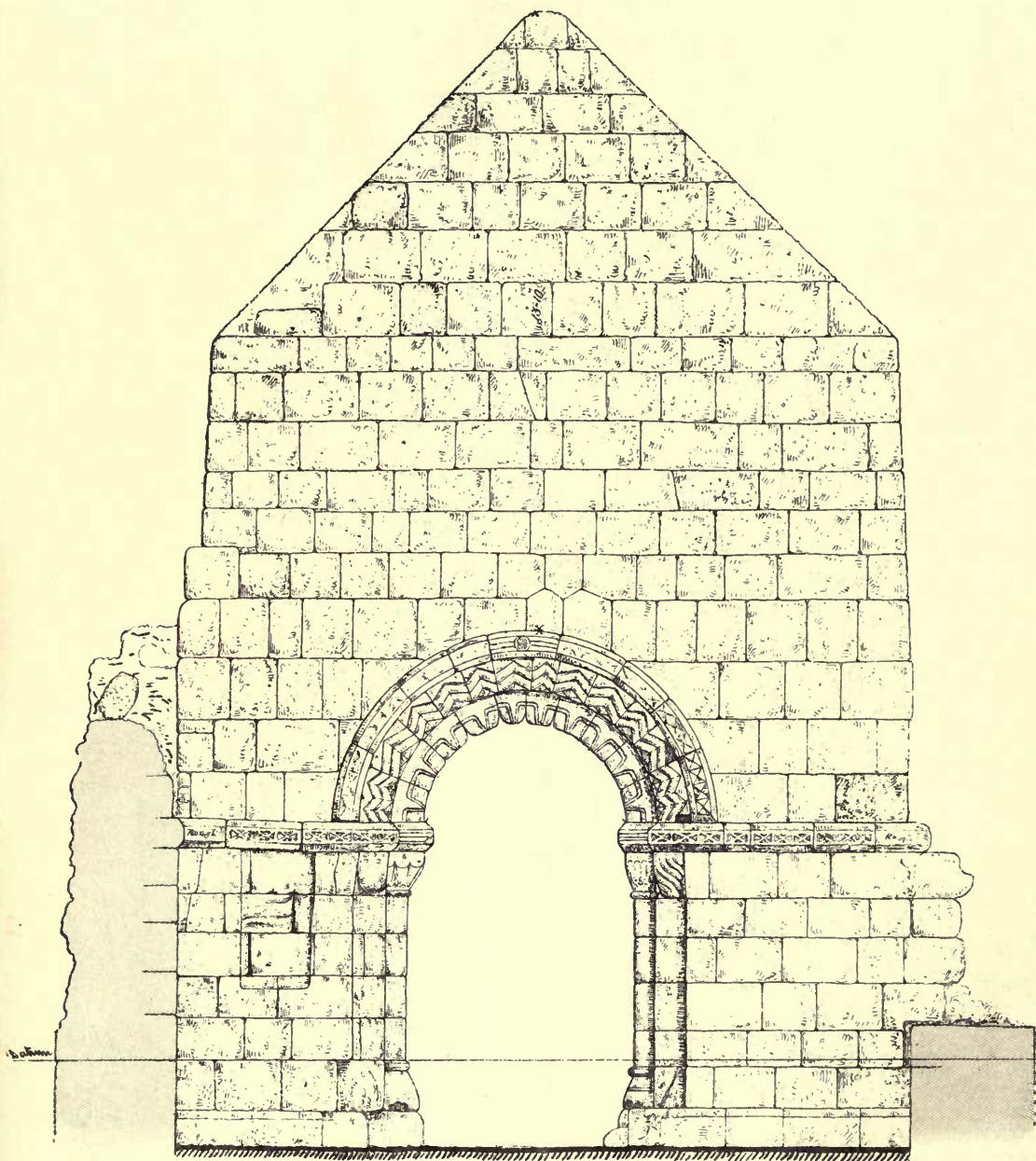
Some of these cells were of the beehive type, others open to the sky, like the circular-shaped enclosures, called *proseuchæ*, or places of prayer, of the Jews.² The hermitage of St Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, was, according to Bede, of the latter type. This primitive monastery, built on Farne in A.D. 685 by St Cuthbert, was enclosed by a circular wall, 4 or 5 perches in diameter, constructed of earth and stones, some of the stones being large. The wall was high, so as to limit a prospect to the heavens overhead. Within this enclosure or "cashel" were formed, partly by scooping, partly by building, a little oratory and a house, both of which were roofed with rough planks and hay. Outside this cashel

¹ Skene, vol. ii. p. 245.

² See Acts of Apostles, xvi. 13; Farrar's 'Life of St Paul,' ch. xxv.

S. BLANE'S CHAPEL, BUTE.

CHANCEL BETWEEN NAVE AND CHANCEL.



WEST ELEVATION.



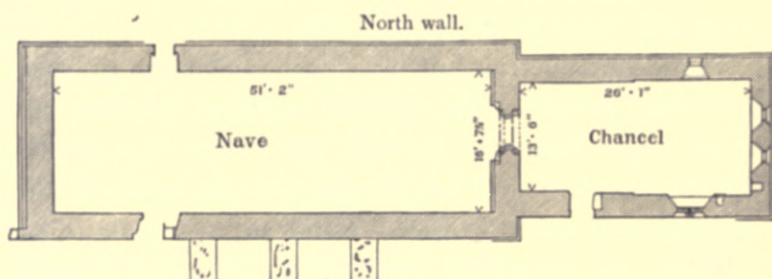
was a house of rest for pilgrims (*hospitium*), and not far off sparkled a well.

This, then, was the type of the Celtic monastery—a circular wall, originally for defence, enclosing a house of prayer and a dormitory, with a guest-house for visitors or pupils, beside an unfailing spring outside the wall. From this type arose the extensive monastic settlements such as those of Iona and Kingarth. Here at Kilblaan are illustrated all the stages of this growth in the surviving edifices, though ruined, and the transition from one phase of ecclesiastical life to another, until now the holy fane has become a retreat for those who enjoy an *al fresco* holiday.

The picturesque ruins of the church of St Blaen rise over a verdant mound, whose peculiar situation between two rough ridges leads me to think the mound is a natural tumulus, arrested and left hanging on the brink of the declivity, over which the waters roared to the sea, on either side, from the sweet little valley behind. It may afterwards have needed trimming by monkish hands, as God's acre became more populated round the consecrated walls.

Did St Blaen first enclose it and place his primitive church there? is a natural inquiry. Good reasons exist for believing that he did. The architectural features of the building produce them. At first sight, the appearance of the Norman masonry, with its regular and unbroken courses, and the precise and workman-like fitting of the vertical and horizontal joints, together with as lovely a Romanesque chancel arch as our country can boast, would lead a visitor to conclude that he had stumbled upon one of those early Norman churches which King David, “the sair sanct for the Crown,” planted, as the chronicler said, as thick as lichens over the

land. Then when, through neglect or destruction, it came to need repair in the thirteenth century, the eastern gable was pierced with the two neat First Pointed windows, and two similar lancet-windows were inserted in the chancel walls, which give that part of the building an Early Gothic character. Later, when more light was required, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, a double-light window was inserted in the south chancel wall, over the sill and part of the rybats of the earlier window, which are still quite visible. The original building apparently was Norman.

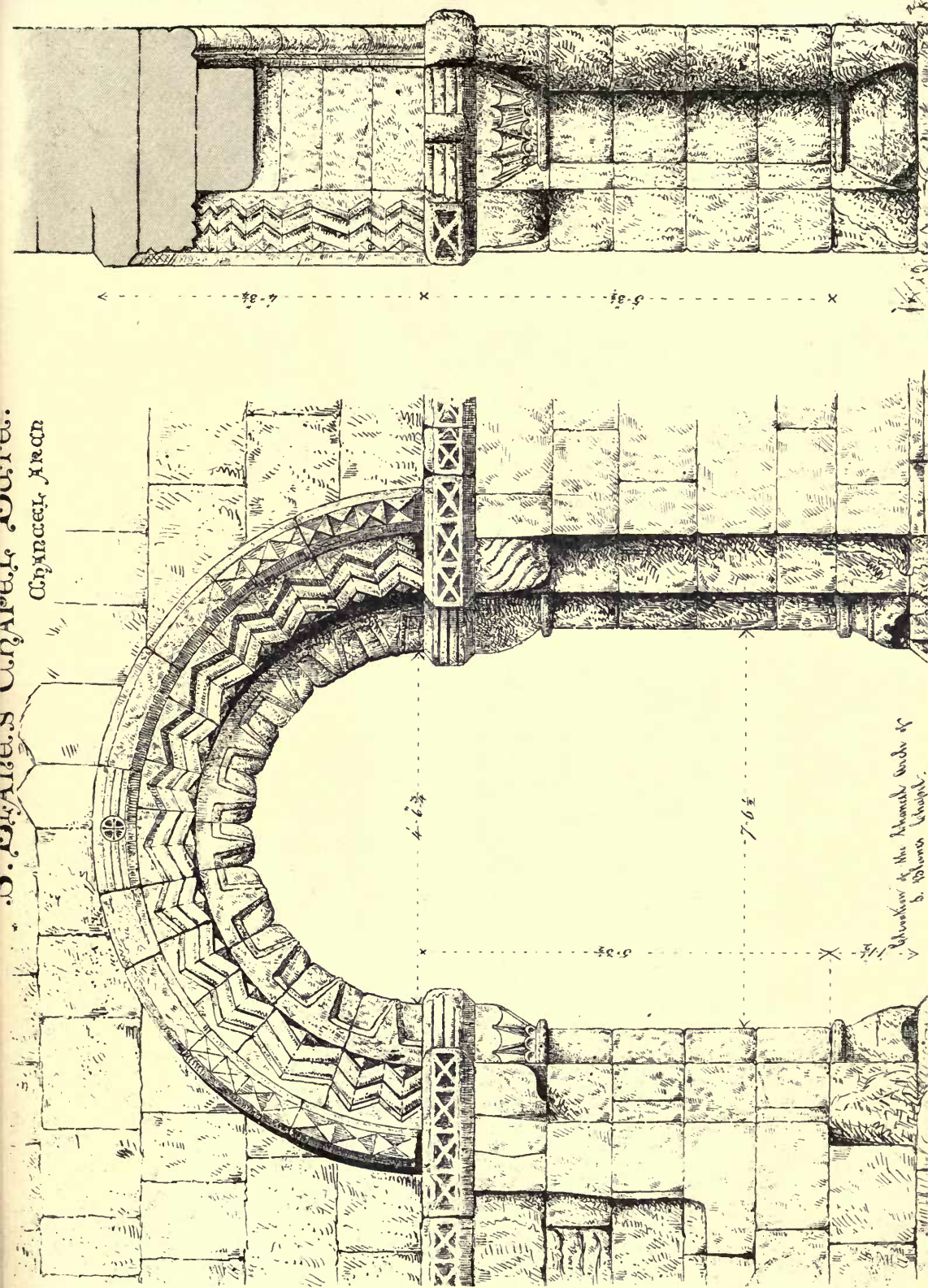


Ground-plan of St Blaas's Church.

But a minute inspection determines that this is a wrong conclusion. This has been clearly pointed out by Mr William Galloway, architect, in a "Notice of the Chapel dedicated to St Blane at Kingarth in Bute," printed in the '*Archæologica Scotica*,'¹ wherein he dissents, with reason, from the common views of architects on the subject. While unaware of this paper, I came to similar conclusions as to the prior antiquity of the eastern part of the chancel. Underneath its various reparations, and behind the Norman facing,

¹ Vol. v., Part ii. Edin., 1880.

S. PETER'S CHURCH, DUREE. Chancel Arch



Sketches of the interior ends of
S. Peter's Church.



is the nucleus of the church—the small square basilica of St Blaan.

The whole church as it stands consists of a nave and a chancel, which has been extended either eastward or westward. Its total exterior length is 85 feet 8 inches; interior, 80 feet 2 inches. The nave, of Norman masonry, measures 56 feet 8 inches without and 51 feet 2 inches within in length, and 22 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches without and 16 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches within in breadth. The west gable is 3 feet 2 inches thick; the nave walls, 2 feet 10 inches thick. The gable dividing the nave from the chancel stands about 26 feet high, and is pierced by the lovely chancel arch. Mr Galloway thus describes it¹:—

"It is in two orders, the first carried on jamb-columns having each of the arch-stones decorated with a simple form of the beak-head. In the second, carried on detached columns, the shafts of which are gone, each arch-stone is carved both on the soffit and exterior face, with a division of the double-rolled zigzag or chevron meeting at the apices, and so forming a very rich example of this characteristic ornament. In section the label is semi-hexagonal. In the centre there is a small Greek cross inscribed in a circle about four inches in diameter, the rest of the stone on either side being striated rather than moulded, with lines following the curve of the arch and terminating abruptly without any reference to the adjoining decoration. The ornament on the remaining part of the label forms a peculiar and by no means common variety of that well-known feature in Norman work—the lozenge, the pattern in this case being brought out by a series of alternate sinkings of a triangular form. . . . The capitals of the columns present considerable variety in their modes of decoration, each one being different from the others. The abaci are continued as a string round the interior of the nave; this string, together with that on

¹ 'Arch. Scot.,' vol. v., Part ii., pp. 329-331.

the outside of the chancel, being carved on its principal face. The abaci over the jamb-columns are notched vertically on each side for a rood-screen, and the sockets still remain at the base of the columns into which the uprights were fixed. In the chancel, the abaci of the columns are also continued as a string along the centre gable, dropping on the north and south sides of the chancel nearly two feet."

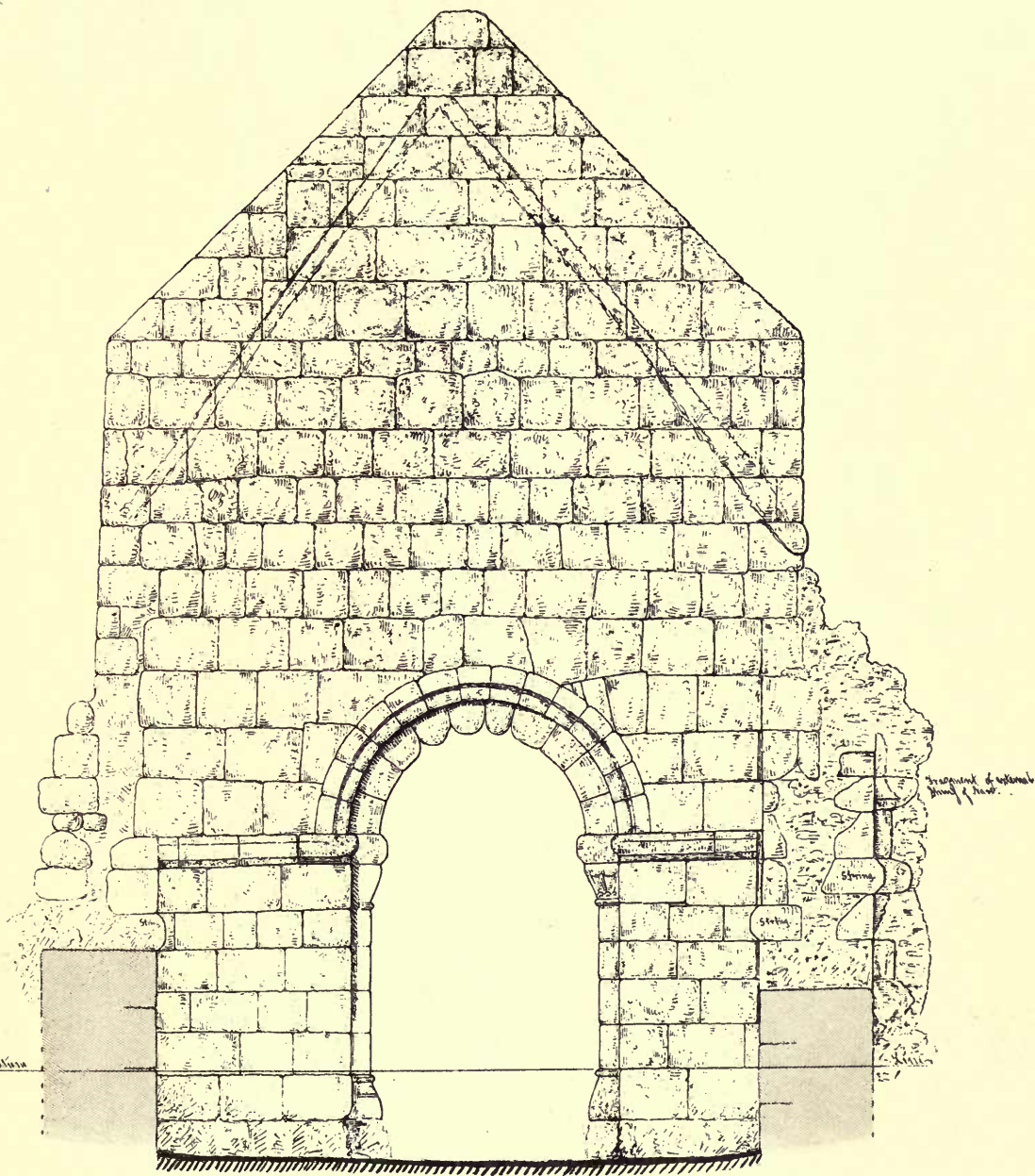
There was also a plain external string. Mere traces of the positions of the Norman windows exist, and the mullion of probably the east gable window is built into the south chancel wall. The chancel doorway measures 9 feet 6 inches in height; the arch is 4 feet $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter.

As to the chancel—the Norman masonry is continued half-way into the chancel—*i.e.*, about 13 feet, when it is met by an older form of building, which is overlaid with Norman and later masonry. The whole chancel in length measures 29 feet without, and 26 feet 1 inch within; in breadth, *within*, at the west end, 13 feet 6 inches, at the east end, 13 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; at the west end of *the older part*, 14 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The lower part of the wall—*i.e.*, of the older portion—is 2 feet 5 inches thick, being a few inches less than the Norman work. The older part has thus been probably a badly set off building of a little more than 14 feet square, and with walls 8 feet high, which have been broken for the aumbry in the gable, the piscina in the south wall, and the lancet windows in the walls. It was extended westward into the Romanesque building. Its east gable was heightened, and now stands pierced by two lancet-windows.

Mr Galloway thus refers to this primitive portion of the church: "In the under part of the east wall, and considerably more than the under half of the side walls, we have a rubble masonry, in the great body of which, with exception

S. BLANE'S CHAPEL, Bute.

GABLE BETWEEN NAVE AND CHANCEL.



EAST ELEVATION.



of the splayed base course, and one or two fragments which may be accidental or otherwise, the only materials employed are the natural undressed trap abundantly supplied in the immediate neighbourhood."¹ Then he proceeds to show that over this rises a few courses of masonry identical with that of the nave, while on the outside of the gable the older portion is actually faced with the same kind of work. Then over both of these is superimposed the freestone masonry of a later day, and of a much inferior style of workmanship. The trap-rubble masonry, he insists, is the primitive building; and he further maintains that it is not likely that if the original building had been Norman, it would have been placed, as we find it, with the nave overhanging a precipitous bank, while there was abundance of room on the eastern side of the mound. With these views I entirely concur. Mr Galloway also points out that this primitive building, like that of St Catan's in Colonsay, has been bound together with lime with somewhat of a vitrified character about it.

And these facts open up the question as to the real antiquity of the primitive building. Could it be contemporaneous with St Blaen? I think so.

The first Celtic churches were very modest structures, built of moist earth or wood, and devoid of decoration. The Britons during the Roman occupation were not builders in stone. St Ninian built the first stone church in Alban with the aid of two masons he procured in Gaul. The oratory of Gallarus appears to be older than the time of St Patrick, but to St Patrick himself is attributed the first use of stone in the erection of the Irish churches. It is

¹ 'Arch. Scot.,' *ibid.*, p. 321.

stated in Tirechan's annotations on the 'Life of St Patrick' that "when Patrick went to the place which is called Foirrgea of the sons of Awley, to divide it among the sons of Awley, he built there a quadrangular church of earth, because wood was not near at hand."¹ The earth churches were called *Cabbals* in the Isle of Man; were erected on an artificial mound surrounded by a circular wall of earth (in some cases with three concentric walls); and were diminutive, measuring about 12 feet long, 9 feet broad, and 5 feet high. The Scots preferred, for centuries, buildings of wood, called *Duirteachs*, *Dertheachs*, which signified "houses of oak." These oratories were formed of rods of wood wattled together, or of sawn planks, roofed with moss, rushes, or heather. St Columba, both in Erin and Iona, built with timber and wattling. So did Finan in Lindisfarne in A.D. 651, "after the Scotie fashion;" also St Kentigern at St Asaph.

But these were gradually superseded by stone edifices, called *Damhliags* in St Patrick's day, who seems to have laid down uniform plans for his churches. They were built of stones and earth, or without a cementing medium, or with lime like St Kienan's, according to circumstances. Each was, as a rule, a small oblong building, rarely exceeding 18 feet in length by 13 feet 6 inches in breadth—a breadth identical with that found at Kilmory, St Kruiskland, and St Ninian's. Some were larger, having a second storey, like St Michael's Chapel in Rothesay Castle. There was a low doorway in the centre of the west wall, and a single window in the centre of the east wall over the altar. Those of the beehive type,

¹ 'Book of Armagh,' fol. 14, b. 2. Petrie's 'Round Towers,' *mult. loc.*

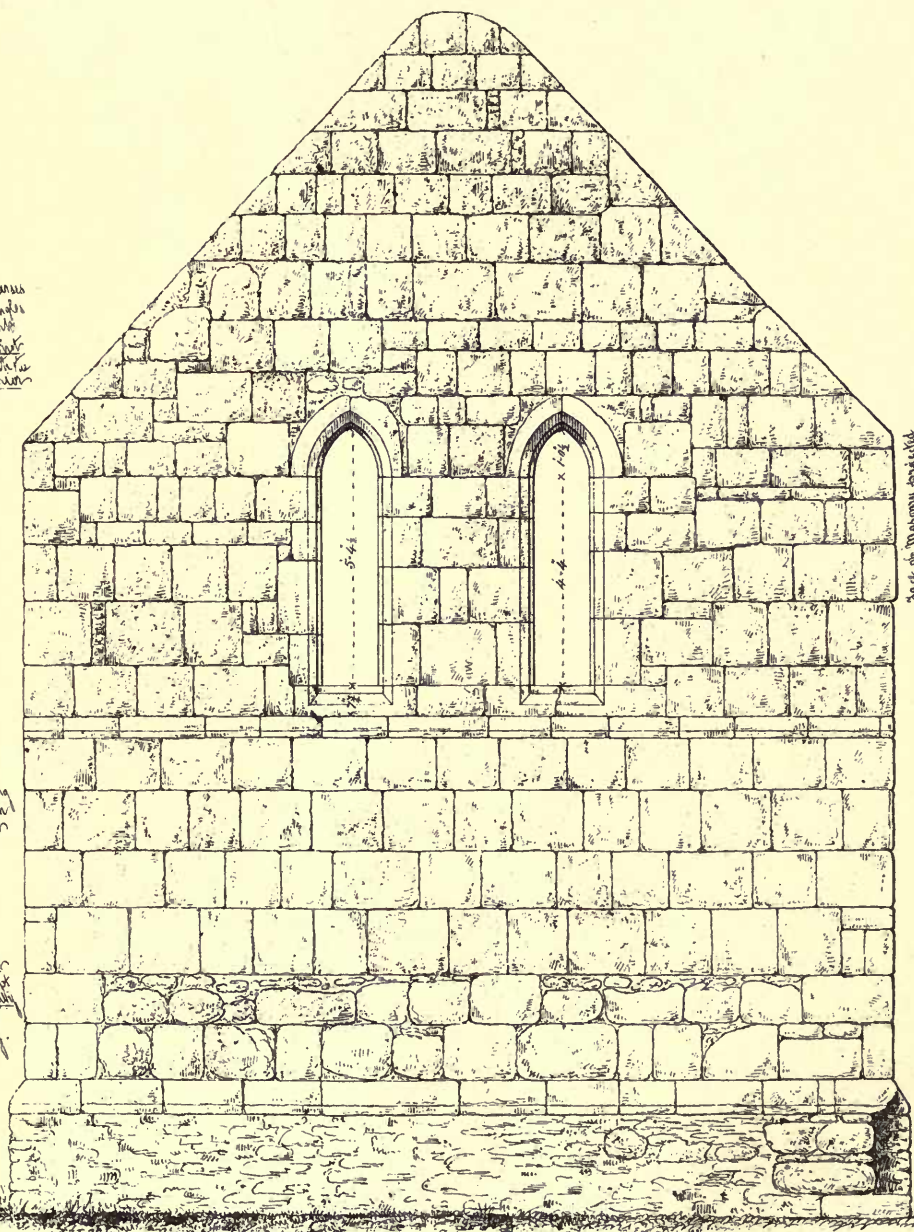
S. BLANE'S CHAPEL, Bute.

ELEVATION OF EASTERN EXTERIOR.

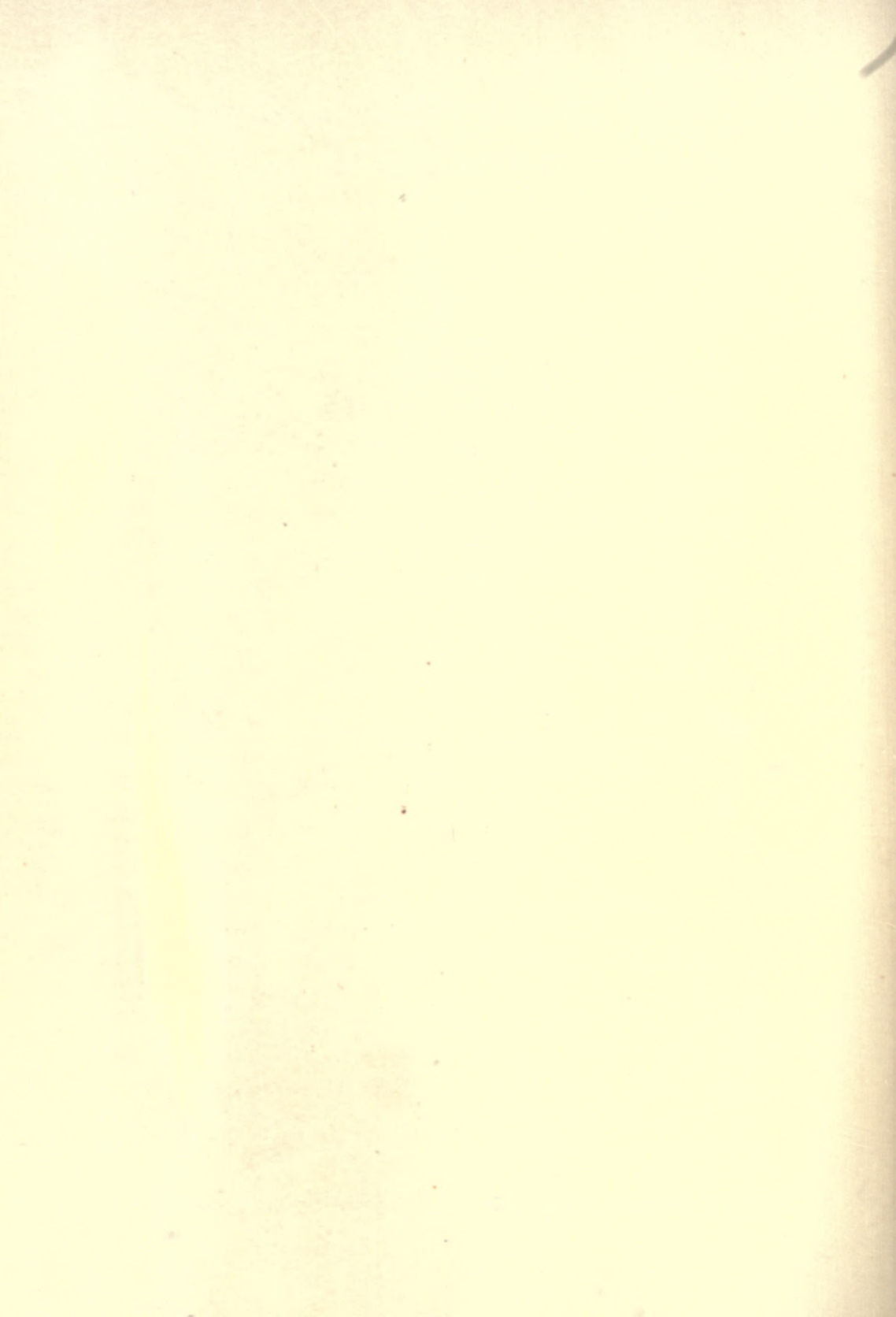
With exception of one or two courses above all being towards the angles which still remain Norman work in situ, the whole is entirely that of the 14th century. The materials supplied by the 14th century Norman is still visible.

Norman Wall remaining intact, except what cut down internally for the pointed window still and doorway.

Wall of Original Structure still remaining intact except in so far as it is built internally from that the 14th century with Norman masonry.



EXTERIOR ELEVATION.



as seen in the Western Isles, were finished with dome-shaped roofs constructed by laying flat slabs on each other. There were, of course, modifications. The introduction of a quadrangular building, called a *Basilica*, either as a chapel or as an addition to an existing church to form a chancel, was an innovation betokening Roman influences after the sixth century.

Stone building, however, was not common in the Celtic Church till the ninth century. From facts like these it may be inferred that there is no antecedent impossibility of St Blaan personally erecting the primitive church whose ruins we still possess. Dr Petrie confidently states, and learnedly illustrates, the fact that there was a Romanesque form of architecture, of Gaulish origin, prevailing in Ireland long before the Norman Conquest.¹ He instances the case of Templepatrick, where the church had a nave, chancel arch, and small square chancel, and this is supposed to have been built by pious Gauls who came to be missionaries under St Patrick. Mr Fergusson also alludes to Ireland possessing "what may properly be called a Celtic style of architecture," and inclines to the theory that "her early Christianity and religious forms were derived from Greece by some of the more southerly commercial routes."² It would be an extraordinary conclusion if it could be proved, in the absence of historical record, that also those beautiful portions of St Blaan's Church assigned to the Scoto-Norman period were actual monuments of native Celtic skill and art. Mr Gal-
loway does not consider such a possibility. He elaborates

¹ 'Round Towers,' p. 284.

² Fergusson, J., 'Illust. Handbook of Architecture.' London, 1855. Vol. ii. p. 915.

with considerable cogency the theory that this Norman work arose in the peaceable reign of Olave the Red, King of Man and the Isles, 1103-1153, who was a contemporary of Alexander I. and David I. of Scotland, and a munificent patron of the English Church. In another section this idea will be dealt with; meantime I may suggest that the English Fitz-Alans, who became the Stewarts, were also contemporary with this period of benefactions to the Church, and had arrived in Scotland.

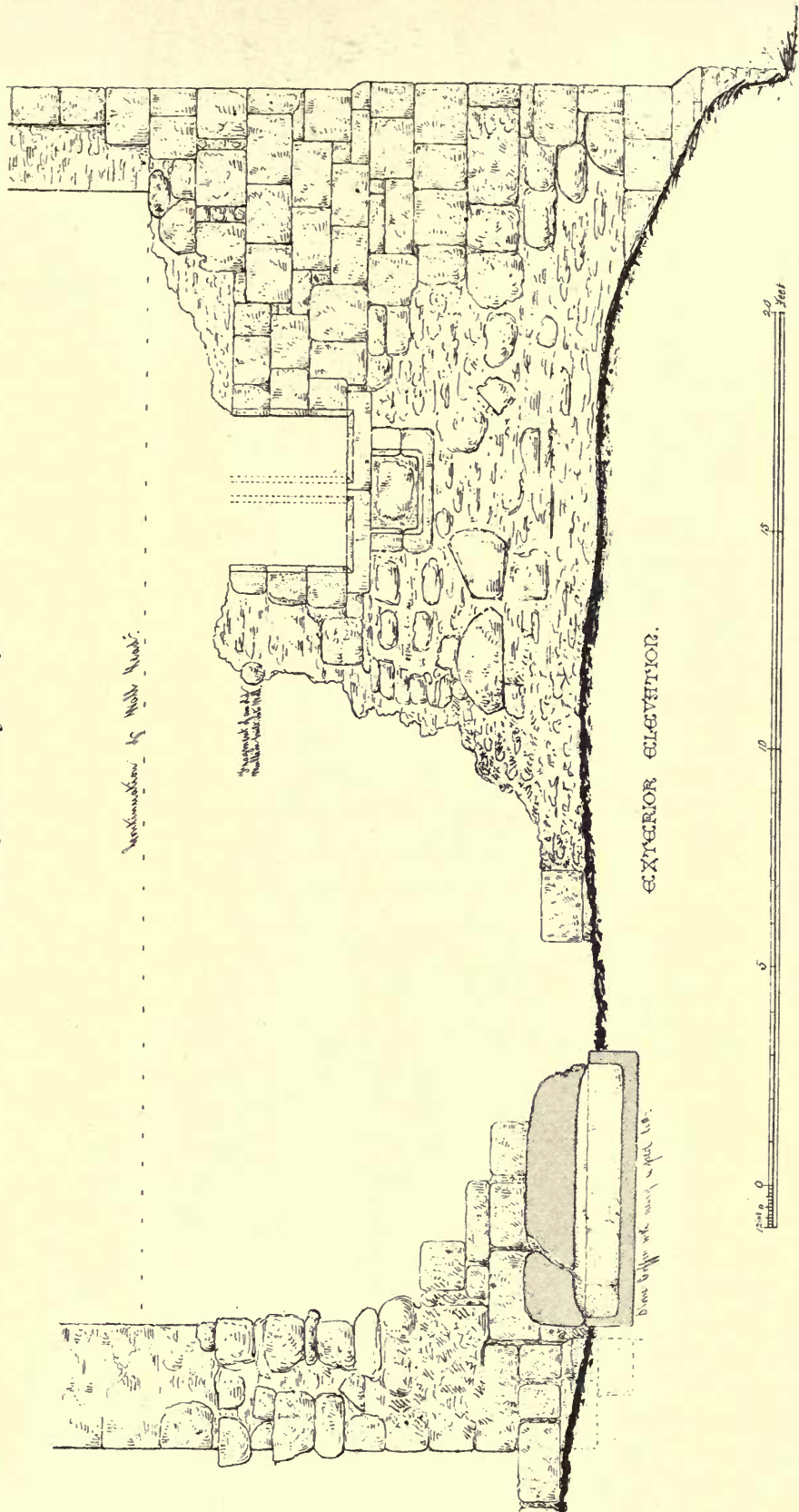
Before leaving the site of the church, the two cemeteries on its south side are worthy of notice. They are rich in primitive monuments, some of them elaborately sculptured, others being neat little Celtic crosses, while others are huge slabs filling hog-backed tombs. The graves in the upper, or "Men's," burial-place are cists formed of stones set on edge and covered with slabs, like the graves at Inchmarnock.

Lying close to the south chancel outer wall at the doorway is the reputed boat-shaped sarcophagus of St Blaen, now preserved in a bronze casing since the Marquess of Bute in 1874 had this romantic spot judiciously trimmed and enclosed. This stone coffin measures 6 feet 4 inches in length, with the coped lid 2 feet 5½ inches in depth, and from 1 foot 7 inches to 2 feet 2 inches in breadth. Its hollow cavity would contain a body 5 feet 11 inches in stature. When opened it was found to contain only a layer of dust, and two pierced pieces of bronze, which may have been part of a pectoral cross ("*cross cruau moithni*," cross of red bronze, 'Life of St Patrick') or other ornament.

There is nothing improbable in the tradition—its antiquity I have not traced—that St Blaen was buried in a stone coffin

S. BIANCHI'S CHURCH, BARE.

SOUTH WALL OF CHURCH.





of this description. St Cuthbert (+687), during his life, received a gift of a stone coffin (*sarcophagus*) from Abbot Cudda; and, by his own direction, was wrapped in fine linen, and buried in it, “at the south side of my oratory, opposite the east side of the holy cross which I have erected there”—in the cell. Afterwards St Cuthbert’s remains were placed in a shrine above the pavement.

By means of a flight of steps, between two walls, access from an upper graveyard to a lower, called the “Women’s Burial-Place” or “Nunnery,” is obtained. This lower graveyard is 6 feet beneath the level of the higher or “Men’s Burial-Place.” The original stone steps are *in situ*. Within this lower precinct are found the stone foundations of a small building, rectangular, earth-bound, and oriented, 23 feet in length and 17 feet in breadth. A doorway pierces the south wall. The floor is occupied with eight slabs, two of which are sculptured.

The reputed curse of Blaan ordained that women were only to receive burial in this disjoined cemetery.¹ But these divisions were not uncommon in the early Celtic Church. The second class of Irish saints, including Columba, and the disciples of Bangor, did not encourage the near proximity of female establishments to their celibate settlements. Bede narrates how in 676 A.D., when a pestilence fell upon the monastery of Barking, and the sisters of the adjoining monastery, “in which God’s female servants were divided from the men, were concerned where they who fell of the pestilence should be buried, a resplendent light from heaven appeared, and, like a sheet, spread itself over a spot to the south side of

¹ See before, p. 27.

the monastery, that is, to the westward of the oratory," and this indicated the female burial-ground.¹ In county Sligo, on the island of Innismurray, is the monastery founded by St Molios of Lamlash, where, outside the Men's Cashel, is found a women's cemetery enclosing a little chapel. A similar arrangement appears at Inniscleraun, in Lough Ree. Inchmarnock also had a "women's graveyard."

So here at Kilblaan, the survival of the name "Nunnery" and the custom of separate burial may suggest the existence of a separate female monastery in the olden time. The second order of the saints—Catholic Presbyters, A.D. 534-572—"refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries." Or, at least, down these steps came the priest to the tiny oratory where women were permitted to pay their adorations, and to say prayers for the dead.

The people of Bute superstitiously believed that if they broke the injunction of St Blaen by burying a woman in the upper graveyard, her body could not rest overnight there, but would be found next day contumeliously cast out of and beyond the ground consecrated for men alone—doubtless by the agency of the offended saint!

When the Presbytery of Dunoon made their customary visitation to the parish of Kingarth, on 9th August 1661, they found this primitive custom of separate burial still in vogue. The elders were duly questioned as to the behaviour of the parish pastor, the Rev. Alexander M'Lean, and satisfied the inquisition, while he, in turn, was invited to report upon the elderate. The minute of the Presbytery runs thus:—

"The elders having removit, and he being enquired anent their

¹ Bede, book iv. chap vii.

behaviour in their charge, declared their concurrence with him, onlie wishit them to be admonishit in these things—

“‘ 1. Slackness in censures of some vices which would require greater sharpnes, which they declin to exercise.

“‘ 2. Neglect of familie worship in some of themselves.

“‘ 3. Carelessnes to persuad the people of their severall quarters to attend weeklie sermons.

“‘ 4. Ther tollerating the people in a superstitious custome, viz., of burying their men and women in two diverse churchyards, the first rise quhereof wes superstitione, and contineweth to be so in many of the people's mind hitherto.’

“Parties having been recalled, the Presbytery intimated the following injunction :—

“‘Wheras ther hath bin a custome of burying men and women in two diverse kirkyards, the people refusing to bury promiscouslie in anie one of them, and that this is done superstitiouslie, therefor it is ordained that men and women shall be promiscouslie buried in the Vpper Kirkyard, and for the Laigh Kirkyard where onlie women were befor buried that none such shall be now, but men may bury there if they please, and if want of roome in the other yard be required, and to mak this Act effectuell the minister is carefullie to attend burials for a seasonē and if anie shall offer to bury contrar to this act, he is to put to his hand for the resistance of them, and they are to be sumound to the Presbytery as Scandalous persons to be censured, and this act to be publishit on Saboth, togedder with ane act of the sessione declaring the penaltie that shall be exacted from every transgressor of this Act.’”¹

The enforcement of this Act ultimately stopped the antique custom. The church of Blaan was used as the parish church of Kingarth down to the eighteenth century. The last burial in the upper graveyard took place in 1892.

¹ Presbytery Record, vol. i. pp. 266, 267.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONSECRATED COLONY.

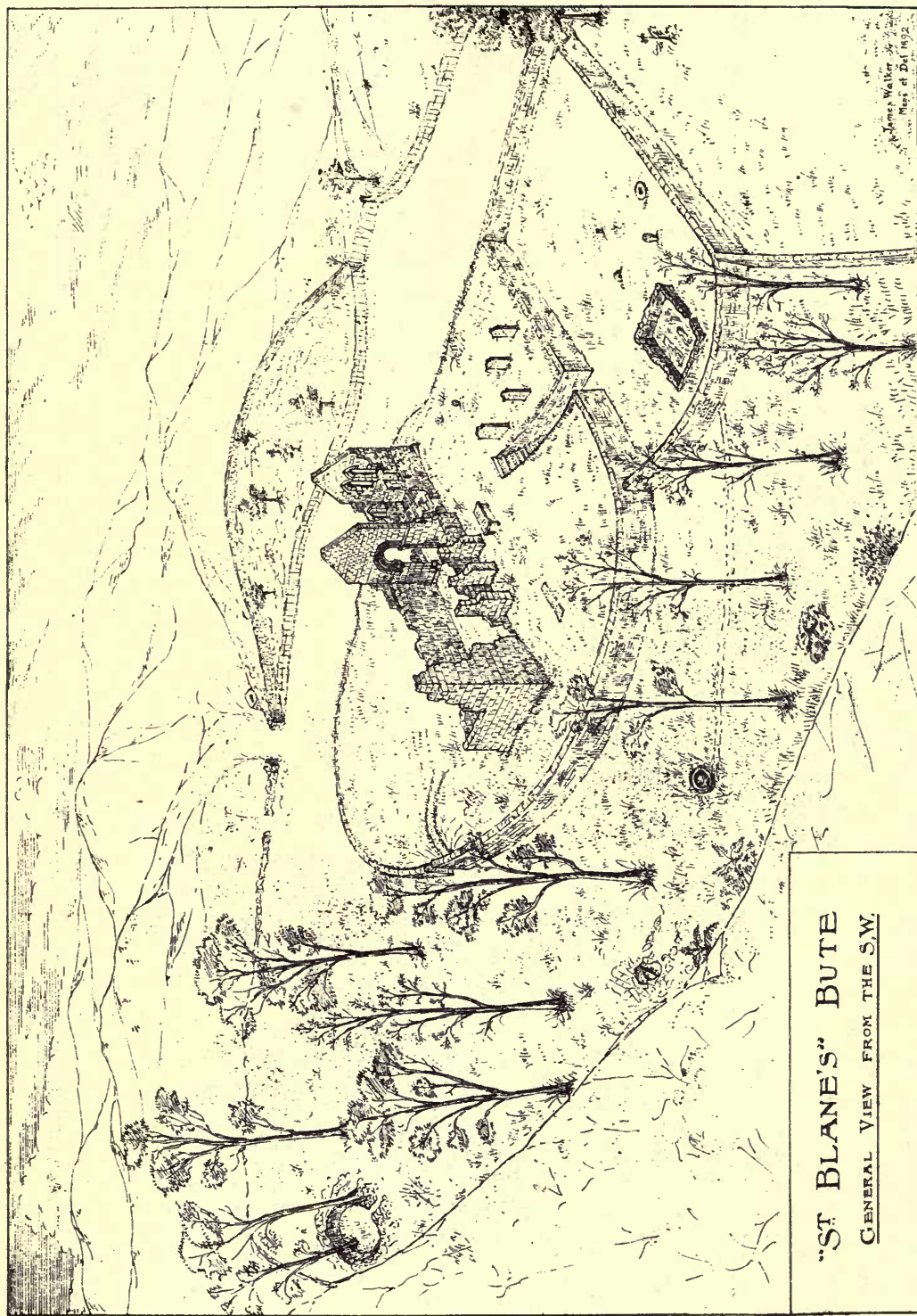
"Had thou and I been, who knows but we ourselves had taken refuge from an Evil Time, and fled to dwell here, and meditate on Eternity, in such fashion as we could?"—CARLYLE.



IN this tender strain Carlyle wrote concerning St Edmundsbury, whose old walls were not peopled with fantasms, he said, but with painful living men working out their life-wrestle—"looked at by Earth, by Heaven and Hell. Bells tolled to prayers; and men, of many humours, various thoughts, chanted vespers, matins;—and round the little islet of their life rolled for ever the illimitable ocean, tinting all things with its eternal hues and reflexes, making strange prophetic music."¹

The pilgrim to Kilblaan found a similar assiduity as soon as he passed the cross which stood, as its socket now proves, at the eastern abbey gate. "The strict, holy, laborious" Rule of Bangor permitted no droning there. Adamnan's 'Life of Columba' illustrates how restless, intense, and devoted the life of a Celtic missionary and abbot was in executing

¹ 'Past and Present,' bk. ii. chap. ii.



"ST BLANE'S" BUTE

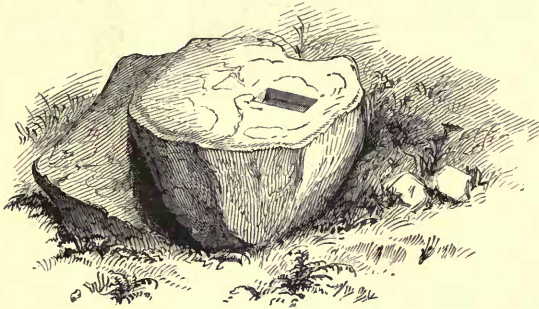
GENERAL VIEW FROM THE S.W.

James Walker del.
Rus. et Del. 1892.



“the hard and laborious monasterial rule” of obedience, self-denial, and fasting.

The name of the farm of Plan, on which St Blaen’s Church now stands, is evidently an ecclesiastical survival—cf. Latin



Socket of Cross at Kilblaen.

planum, a cultivated spot (according to Ducange = *cæmeterium*), transformed into Celtic *llan*, a church—the earlier meaning of which is a fertile spot.

The mission implied labour. Instead of a holy hush brooding, there was a lively hum sweeping over the religious colony (*congbhal*). The presbyter-abbot superintended all within the walls, and only gave place to the resident or visiting bishop when the latter celebrated the Eucharist and conferred ordination. The church, cells, barns, and other edifices were to erect, add to, and repair, and busy were the monks carrying stones or bustling in from the woodlands with the wattles and planks on their backs. The fields were to plough and the shares to be made; the grain was to be gathered and beat, and the little kilns, like that at Kelspoke, were to be reared and fired till provision was made for man and beast. Here a monk was hammering a granite boulder into a quern (*bro*), or driving it while he sang; there a brother

was busy clinking a little iron bell, smelted on the hills of Cowall, or other metal-work for the house and the church. Another had to fabricate the fishing-boat and tackle, or the mission-ship. Honoured of all the family was the learned scribe (*scribhnidh* or *scribhneoir*) in his quiet cell, carefully handling his painted pen, and producing those copies of the Scriptures and missals which were the glory of the Celtic Church, and still are marvels of art. The leathern cases, *polaires*, in which they were carried, were deftly embossed by his or other cunning hand. The Celts were ingenious artificers in the precious metals, in stone, and wood. Their art may have travelled from the East. In this connection it may be noted that a piece of polished and wrought syenite, now lost, was found among the *débris* of St Blaen's Church.

Livelier the school where the shaggy scolocs or pupils, for whose maintenance the lands of Scoulag in Bute may have been dedicated, were poring over their religious tasks under one of the seniors (Rector, *magister scholarum*, Feirleginn), who also devoted their own time to reading and writing.

There was no lack of service for genius of every kind. Before the abbot had seen the great kitchen smoke, and the brewer draw the Pictish ale, and the board of the dining-house spread for the pilgrims, or his weary family (*filioli*) returning each night from the brown or yellow fields of Bransar and of Garachty, he had no little care—never to consider the weightier offices of his abbatial ministry, which lay closest to his heart. It is to be regretted that St Blaen inspired no Boswell, as Columba inspired Cuimene and Adamnan, to record his work. In Bishop Mochta's monastery of Lughmagh—

"Three score psalm-singing seniors
Were his household, royal the number,
Without tillage, reaping, or kiln-drying,
Without work except reading."

But we can only surmise the importance of Kingarth from its being mentioned among other great monasteries of the seventh century, and from the fact that St Molios, the grandson of King Aidan, was sent to his uncle, St Blaán, to be educated there.

This famous abbot, Laisren or Molios, who left his name imprinted in Lamlash, "Eilean Molaise"—probably also in Ardmoileis—and his cave and well cut out of Holy Isle, was of royal extraction, being the son of Caireall, an Irish noble, and Mathgemm, daughter of Aidan.

Ængus the Culdee thus celebrates this melodious monk :—

"Molaise, a flame of fire,
With his comely choristers;
Abbot of Rathkill and king of fire,
Son of Mathgemm of Monadh."

He went twice to Rome. Pope Gregory the Great ordained him priest. He was made abbot of old Leighlin on his return. On his second visit to Rome Honorius I. consecrated him bishop. He strenuously helped the Roman party, as against the Celtic party, to effect the computation of Easter after the Roman mode. He died 18th April 639, and was buried at Leighlin. There were other Laisres too. A reputed effigy of Molios long lay in Cesken churchyard, Arran, but was in 1889 transferred to St Molios' Church. It is a medieval monument, however.

While the monastery was primarily a place for self-instruction and worship, it was also a centre (*annoi*) from

which emerged those qualified to preach the Gospel at those dependent chapels (*daltas*) referred to in Alan's Charter. Kingarth appears to have been one of those chief houses among the Scots which Bede says were independent of the jurisdiction of Iona. Bangor was the parent house.¹

There is no evidence that there was daily celebration of the Communion there, but it was celebrated every Sunday, on saints' days, and on such occasions as the abbot decreed, usually very early in the morning, and after fasting. There was sometimes a second Eucharist. Vigils and vespers were observed, when beautiful hymns were sung. At Iona Wednesday and Friday were partially set apart for fasting, and there were other special fasts before Easter, the Feast of Ascension, and the consecration of churches. Christmas was observed as well.

Here is a specimen of an early Celtic Calendar:—

1 Feb.	Fel [festival] Brige.	20 Jul.	Fel San Mairgreg.
2 "	Fel Muire.	15 Aug.	Fel Muire.
6 Mar.	Fel Ciarain Saigre.	8 Sept.	Fel Muire Mor.
9 "	Fel Senain.	12 "	Fel Molaise.
17 "	Fel Padruig.	29 "	Fel Michil.
15 Mai	Fel Brenaind.	12 Dec.	Fel Finden.
9 Jun.	Fel Colaim Cille.		

A tiny little hand-bell (*clac*) called the colony to worship. Public worship was conducted in Latin, not in the vulgar tongue, although the Lessons may have been taken from a Celtic translation of the Scriptures.² The services were

¹ Bede, bk. iii. chap. iii. "St Columba had no more jurisdiction in Lismore than in Applecross or Kingarth."—Adamnan's 'Columba,' Reeves, p. xliii, Note u.

² 'The Scots Magazine,' vol. iv. No. 22, p. 285; Warren, p. 94.

entirely choral. From fragments of, and references to, the early liturgies, one can infer that the order of worship was, in the main, according to the following arrangement: Call to Prayer; Litany; Prayer; Hymn; Collect; Lesson from Prophets; Collect; Epistle (St Paul to the Corinthians); Canticle with Antiphons—"The Song of the Three Children;" Collect; Gospel; Collect; Sermon; Anthem; entrance of celebrating priest and deacon, with elements; Offertory of the People; Intercessions, with commemoration of dead, whose names are sung out; Eucharistic Prayer and Act of Consecration; Fraction of bread; Benediction; Immission of consecrated particle into the chalice; Creed; Lord's Prayer; Communion of Clergy—Anthem; The Kiss of Peace; Communion of People (in both kinds)—Anthem; Thanksgiving Hymn—"Gloria in Excelsis"; Thanksgiving Prayer.¹



The Bell of St Fillan.

¹ 'The Stowe Missal,' which partly dates from the ninth century, and incorporates in an early Celtic liturgy additions from the Roman, has the following order of the Mass: Litany of the apostles, holy martyrs, and virgins; Prayer of Augustine (prayer of celebrant ascending altar); "Gloria in Excelsis;" Collect; Prayer of Peter; Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians; Collect; Litany of St Martin; Collect; Preparation of chalice; Lesson from St John's Gospel; Prayer; Nicene Creed; Full uncovering of chalice; Collect of oblation of paten

The Communion-table, or altar, formed of wood or stone, and covered with a purple pall, stood under the window in the eastern gable of the church. The white-robed deacon brought in the bread and wine, and also the water for the mixed chalice, from the sacristy.¹ The celebrating presbyter or bishop accompanied him, and stood facing the altar. He wore an embroidered *alb*, or white under vestment, and over it a chasuble, or roomy mantle of purple, or other rich colour, with appropriate embroideries, and probably fastened at the neck with a Celtic brooch. A little breastplate, like Aaron's, glittered on his breast. A crown of gold, instead of a mitre, gave Blaen a regal aspect. The modest church was bright with the white vestments of the choristers, monks, and students, which were a contrast to the black veils of the female communicants, who were, by the first order of Catholic saints, permitted to join in the worship.² From the fragments of the Celtic Liturgy, we can gather it was a most solemn and beautiful service which first sounded in Kilblaen, and was not by any means identical with that in use in the Church under Roman rule.

The points of difference between the Celtic Church and

and chalice; (Offertory;) Intercessions for departed and living; Sursum Corda; Preface; Gelasian Canon; Recitation of names of living; Consecration; Intercession of Saints, &c.; Prayer of Ambrose; Oblation lifted over chalice, and half of bread into chalice; Fraction of bread and blessing of chalice; Confession of Faith; Lord's Prayer; Collect; Kiss of Peace; The Commixture; The "Agnus Dei"; (Communion of Clergy;) Communion Hymns; Formula of administration in both kinds to people; (Communion;) Communion Anthems; Formula of Thanksgiving; Post Communion; Prayer and Thanksgiving.

¹ The bread was unleavened; the chalice was formed of glass, bronze, silver, gold, wood, or stone.

² MS. 'Catal. Sanctorum Hiberniæ,' &c.; Warren, 'Liturgy of Celtic Church,' p. 80.

that of Rome have been summed up by Mr Warren under the following heads: 1. The Calculation of Easter; 2. Baptism; 3. The Tonsure; 4. The Ordinal; 5. Peculiar Mode of Consecrating Churches and Monasteries; 6. The Liturgy and the Ritual of the Mass.¹

In the calculation of the day Easter was to be celebrated on, the Celts, abiding by the ancient method, long preferred the tradition of their own Church to the "decrees of the Apostolic See."² As to baptism, they practised single, not trine, immersion, omitted the unction, and practised the *Pedilavium*, or ceremonial washing of the feet after baptism. The Roman tonsure was coronal; the Celtic, of Druidic origin, was effected by shaving the forefront of the head from ear to ear. There were striking divergences, too, in the ordination of bishops, deacons, and priests. In the Celtic Church, a single bishop sufficed to ordain a bishop. The readings selected for the ordination services did not coincide with those found in the Roman Ordinal. The hands of deacons and priests were anointed, and other minor rites observed, by the Celtic bishops. They also dedicated their churches to their living founders, and consecrated them after prayer and long fasting.

The Liturgy used in the Scottish Church was of the family of liturgies called Ephesine, rather than of that called the Petrine, the former being traditionally ascribed to St John the apostle. It was represented by at least three branches—the Mozarabic or Spanish Liturgy, the Gallican, and the Celtic. According to the Marquess of Bute, "The Celtic

¹ Warren, 'The Liturgy,' &c., p. 63 *et seq.*

² Bede, bk. iii. c. xxv.

Liturgy as imported by Patrick into Ireland and by Columba into Scotland was undoubtedly Gallican in form." ¹

Amid these surroundings, during the secure reign of fiery Aidan, his father or friend, the mild brave abbot, governed his consecrated home until its stately shrine was famed throughout the land and became the "Glory of the West,"

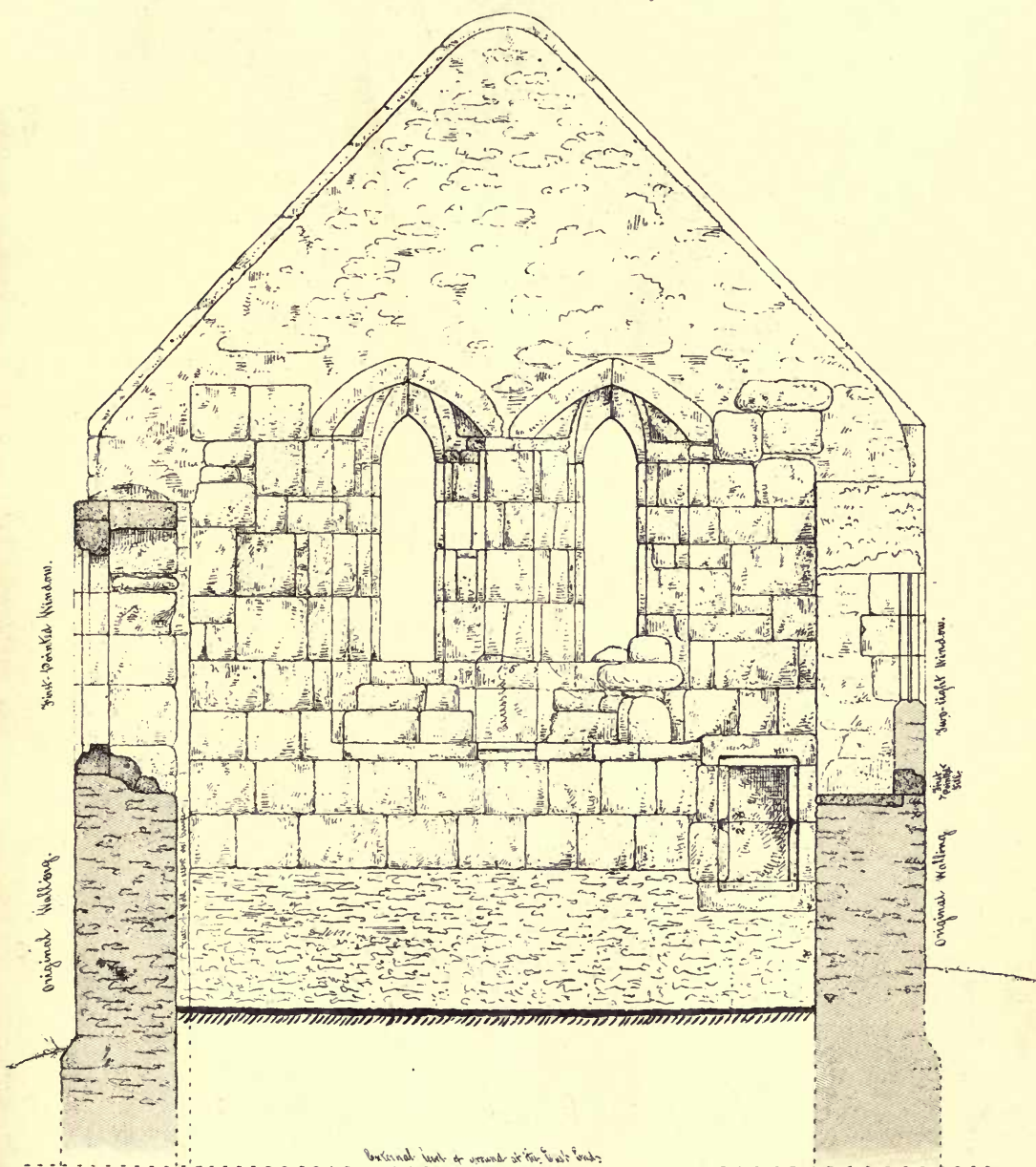
"Where once came monk and nun with gentle stir,
Blessings to give, news ask, or suit prefer."

Happy was he to see the sanctuary enlarged with grateful gifts, full of rapture to join in the melodious litanies that refreshed the drooping life-blood of his fellow-labourers, piously joyful that every task was fruitful of good; but he soon felt the soul fretting itself through the brittle clay. At last it broke the darkness of that hermitage, and burst into the Eternal Light—a new-born saint. His *natal* day was, it is said, the 10th of August. They laid him on the sunny side of the chancel wall, and sang his requiem there—if tradition is correct. More likely he was laid to rest near the altar itself, as St Cuthbert was.

¹ Art. "Liturgy," Chambers's 'Encyclopædia.'

S. BLAINE'S CHAPEL, BUTE.

ELEVATION ON EASTERN GABLE.



INTERIOR ELEVATION.





CHAPTER XI.

THE SEVEN SLEEPERS.

“ Nor you, ye proud, impute to these the fault,
 If Memory o’er their tomb no trophies raise,
 Where, through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault,
 The pealing anthem swells the note of praise.

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
 Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire ;
 Hands that the rod of empire might have sway’d,
 Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.”

—GRAY.



N the shadow of the eastern gable of St Blaas’s Church, under a flourishing thorn which almost symbolically pierces the ruined wall of the silent fane, and where the altar formerly stood, lie side by side seven grey sepulchral slabs.¹ They are similar in every respect to those found in the oldest Celtic cemeteries. They are dressed, but not carved nor engraved. Consequently they are dumb relics of a pious past, found, where undisturbed they lie, after the clearance out of the church of its accumulation of *débris* in 1874.

¹ There is a small slab forming an eighth stone in the row—is it Teimnen, the clerk’s?

Who are the seven sleepers who repose in such place of honour? we would inquire. Without a doubt, men great and good—higher than their fellows! For such alone was the altar's quietude disturbed in reverent days. And on that very spot St Blaen, probably also his uncle St Catan, and his nephew St Molios, may have dispensed the bread of life to the keen Dalriadic soldiers of King Aidan, who had sheathed those "lime-white blades" they had so often drawn in defence of the faith. If these grey memorials betoken such high antiquity, may they not cover the seven fathers of the Church, who reared, and by their holy lives defended, the banner of the Lord in Bute?

History divulges the names of seven only, strange to say—Catan, Blaen, Daniel, Johann or Iolan, Ronan, Maelmanach, and Noe. (The obit of Teimnen, a clerk of Cillegarad, is also chronicled.) And such a number is quite sufficient to fill up the years between the first bishop—A.D. 570 say—and the last abbot—A.D. 790.

Some authorities are definite in recording, at least, that Saints Catan and Blaen are both interred in Bute, and there is nothing improbable in supposing that the remaining five were buried beside them. Unfortunately, the Irish annalists, to whom we are indebted for the mere preservation of their names, leave these five abbots and bishops sleeping in as much obscurity as these graves afford. The notices of their deaths thus appear in the 'Annals of Tighernac' (MLXXXVIII):—

"660 K. Obitus Finain Mac Rimeda Episcopi 7 Daniel Episcopi Cindgaradh.

689 Kl. Johann Episcopus Cindgalarath obit.

737 Kl. Bass [death] Ronain Abbatis Cindgaradh."

TABLE SHOWING CONTEMPORAR

A.D.	ABBOT OR BISHOP OF KINGARTH.	ABBOT OF IONA.	KING OF DALRIADA.
501-3			Loarn Mor + 501 Fergus Mor Domhangart + 508 Comghall + 538 Gabhnan + 560 Conall + 574
563	B. Catan + 600?	Columba (563 + 597)	
630	A. Blaau + 630? B.	Baithene + 600 Laisren + 605 Fergna Brit + 623	Aedan + 606 Eochaidh Buidhe + 629 Conadh Cerr + 630
	(Molaise?)	Seghine + 652	Ferchar + 637 Domhnall Breac + 642 Conall Crandhama + 660
660	B. Daniel + 660	Cuimine Ailbe + 669	
		Failbhe + 679	Domhnall Donn, exp. 680
689	B. Johann or Iolan + 689	Adamnan, born 624 + 704	Maelduin + 689
		(Adamnan) Conamhail + 710 Dunchadh + 717 Faelcu + 724 Cillene Fada + 726 Cillene Droicteach + 752	Ferchar Fada of Lorn + 697 Eochaidh Rimeaval Ainbhallach, exp. 698 + 719 Selbach + 730 Eochaidh Muiredhach Uaigneach + 733 Domhnall
776	A. Maelmanach + 776	Slebhine + 767 Suibhne + 772	Aedh Finn Mac Ecdach + 778
790	A. Noe + 790	Breasal + 801	Fergus + 781 Donnccorci + 792

THE ABBOTS AND BISHOPS OF KINGARTH.

OF PICTS.	KING IN STRATHCLYDE AND NORTHUMBRIA.	CONTEMPORARIES.
Maelcon + 505		Patrick + 493
Maelcon + 584	Roderic, King of Strathclyde + 601 Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria + 617	Brigit + 523 Kessog ? 520 Enda + 540 Ciaran + 544 Brendan of Birr + 573 Brendan of Clonfert + 577 Finnian + 579 Augustine + 589 Moluoc + 592 Fintan Munnu + 592 Columba + 597 Cainnech + 600 Kentigern + 601 Comgall + 602 Adamnan, born 624 Columbanus + 618
	Solon, King of Britons + 613	
	Eadwine, King of Northumbria + 633	
35 2 557 63	Oswald of Northumbria + 642 Oan, King of Britons	Molaise of Lamlash
	Gureit, King of Britons + 658 Osuu of Northumbria + 670	Finan : Colman : Maelrubha of Applecross Aldfrid
Bile + 693	Egfrid of Northumbria + 685	Cuthbert + 687 Domhnall MacAuin of Alclyde + 694 Caedmon
97 4)	Aldfrid + 705 Osred + 716 Kenred + 718 Osric + 731 Ceolnuf + 738	Servanus of Fife Dunchadh, King of Kintyre, 721 Bile Mac Elfrine of Alclyde + 722 Teimnen + 732 Ven. Bede + 735
775	Ethelbald + 765 Alcred + 774	
+ 782	Ethelred, 778 Alfwold + 789 Osred + 792	Vikings, 794



In the 'Annals of Senait Mac Manus,' commonly called the 'Annals of Ulster' (MCCCXCVIII.), they stand:—

- "660. Kal Ian. 4. f. l. 13. Anno Domini Dcl9. Obitus Finnani
Episcopi filii Rimedo et Daniel Episcopus Cinngarad.
689. Kal Ian. Anno Domini Dclxxxviiij. Iolan Episcopus Cinn-
garat obiit.
(732. Kal. Ian. Anno Domini Dccxxxiij. Teimnen Cillegarad re-
ligiosus clericus quievit.)
737. Kal. Ian. Anno Domini Dccxxvj. Mors Ronain Abbatis
Cinngaraid.
790. Kal Ian. Anno Domini Dcclxxxix. Mors Noe Abbatis Cinn-
garadh, vel hic Bellum Conaill 7 Constantin secundum alios
libros."

Dr Reeves gives in his 'Chronicon Hyense':—

- "776. Mors Maelemanach, Abbatis Cinngaradh (An. 660)."

The silence after 790 is ominous. At this date we begin to read of the sea-robbers of the western seas—*e.g.*, "794. The devastation of all the isles of Britain by the Gentiles;" "795. Devastation of Iona of Colum-cille;" "Burning of Rech-rainne, and its shrines violated and spoiled." Doubtless Bute shared the same misery. In absence of local details, we can only make a general survey of the stirring events which were also taking place in the other adjoining principalities and kingdoms, the influence of which must have been felt in Dalriada. The subjoined table will help in the retrospect.

I have thus suggested that only seven clerics ministered in Kingarth from the foundation of the church to the hapless time when it suffered temporary eclipse on the appearance of the Northmen, and disappeared for four centuries from the page of history; also that Blaen survived through the first quarter of the seventh century. And these are not violent

stretches of imagination, when it is known that since the Reformation seven ministers of the parish of Rothesay—omitting one only in the succession—held office for 235 years.

Both saints and sinners kept the people lively in the seventh century. Racial differences made the maintenance of peace impossible. The wild Picts swooped out of their Highland fastnesses upon the warriors of Kintyre; and the Northumbrian Angles, after their great victory over Aidan and the Northern Britons at Dægsastan in 603, threatened with their keen bronze blades the western kingdoms of Strathclyde and Cumbria—*i.e.*, from the Clyde to the Dee. These fierce foreigners still worshipped Woden and Thunder with bloody rites. Then the Britons quarrelled with their old allies of the west, and humbled in war the Scots of Dalriada. In turn both of them were completely overmastered by the Northumbrians under King Osuiu, so that during this whole century the sword never seemed to lie in its scabbard, and blood ran like water.

Presuming that St Blaen lived a quarter of a century after his reputed father, King Aidan, we see him contemporary with those epoch-making kings in England, Æthelfrith, who consolidated Northumbria, and Eadwine, who succeeded him on the throne in 617. The victories of the latter over Saxon, Briton, and Pict made him ruler of all England, save Kent and Cumbria; while so completely was his throne established from Eadwine's burgh on the Forth to the English Channel, that, as was the boast, "a woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Eadwine's day." It was in his court the picturesque figure of Paulinus, one of the followers

of Augustine, appeared in 628, with the happy result that Eadwine and his kingdom were converted to Christ. In 633 Eadwine fell before the heathen Penda and the Briton Caedwalla, and there ensued a reaction in favour of the pagan creeds. Meantime noble Northumbrian exiles frequented the religious schools of Dalriada, but their faith was fickle.

Though Eanfrid, the eldest son of Æthelfrith, forgot the faith, his brother Oswald, who, in his exiled youth, had also found shelter and comfort with the monks of Iona, called in the moral power of the Gospel, when he mounted the throne, to uphold his government in Northumbria, 634-42. He invited the Irish monks to his assistance. Seghine was then Iona's abbot. Daniel the bishop was ministering in Kingarth in room of Blaán.

Both Picts and Britons round Dalriada had their chronic bouts of fighting in this period ; and, as if to maintain some kind of harmony with them, the ecclesiastics expended their pugnacity in the controversy which tried to settle the true date of keeping the Feast of Easter. In a word, the Roman Church had changed the method of computing the date of the Feast of the Resurrection ; the Celtic Church retained the old Jewish and Christian custom. To obtain conformity was the task in which the Roman party ultimately succeeded.

The first monk who came from Iona to Northumbria had no success in his mission. St Aidan, however, who superseded him, took up the discredited work, and fixing his seat at Lindisfarne, soon made the Church a power in the realm of saintly Oswald. Both Church and State began again to extend their borders. The Church was monastic in its government, like that of Iona, and soon smaller scholastic settle-

ments and churches were opened everywhere, with teachers faithful to the Celtic model at their head. Oswald died in 642, and was succeeded by Osuiu; Aidan also departed, and Finan sat in the bishop's seat in 651—a year before Seghine of Iona died. King Osuiu, restless and ambitious, although a professing Christian, succeeded in overcoming the Picts of Galloway, the Britons of Strathclyde, and the Scots of Dalriada—a political circumstance which had no bearing on the government of the Church in Bute. Finan, indeed, had been sent by the Scots to Northumbria, and when he died in 660, the annalist notes that Daniel, the Bishop of Kingarth, died in the same year. His day in the Calendar is the 18th of February.

Finan's successor was Colman, who seems to have been sent direct out of Scotia—*i.e.*, Ireland—to his see. In 661 Cuimine, the Abbot of Iona, goes on some errand to Ireland, the nature of which is not particularised.

Dr Skene thinks that, "as Bede says of Finan that he was ordained and sent by the Scots, while, in the case of Colman, he uses the expression that he was sent out of Scotia, or Ireland, this rather confirms our suspicion that the bishops called in to consecrate these Northumbrian missionaries were the bishops of Kingarth, and that the death of Bishop Daniel in the same year rendered an appeal to Ireland necessary."¹ There is no proof, as Dr Skene states,² that Kingarth was subject to Iona, and it is probable, since Blaauw was honoured in Cumbria and Northumbria for his alleged miracles there, that missionaries issued direct from Bute. When the Kingarth bishop was dead, Bangor, the mother house, would assume

¹ 'Celtic Scot.', vol. ii. p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 157.

jurisdiction, and its head would consecrate the bishops of Lindisfarne and of other Northumbrian houses.

Daniel's crosier fell to Johann or Iolan, of whom we know nothing, save that he was a bishop, and held office till 689, being contemporary with Abbot Adamnan of Iona. In his time also Cuthbert preached, and Caedmon sang the Gospel to the Angles.

Colman the Celt found his task in a foreign land no easy one. The Southern British Church, owning allegiance to Rome, was at variance with the Celtic Church in regard to the date of Easter, the circular tonsure, and the supremacy in the Church. The two parties, Roman and Celtic, wrangled the matter out. Abbot Wilfrid of York, an indefatigable schemer, brought the dispute to an issue by persuading King Osuii, who held a council at Whitby in 664, where Colman and he pleaded their causes, that the Roman party had the best authority for their views.

The sturdy Celt fled the scene. He preferred the traditions of the Church, the opinion of Columba, and his own interpretation of Scripture to the doctrine of Rome. Quitting Northumbria with his compatriots, bearing the relics of Aidan and other saints, he repaired to Iona. By what route did he come? Would he not likely visit Bute by the way, in order to inform Iolan and his family of the disaster which had fallen on their Order? It might even be possible that the old church of Colmac bore his honoured name in memory of his visit. In time his opponent Wilfrid extended his diocese of York as far as the territory of Dalriada during Osuii's reign.

Before Iolan died, in 689, he and the Celtic party at least had one satisfaction in seeing the Anglic yoke over Dalriada

broken at the battle of Dunnichen in 685, and the restoration of this part of Alban to independency.

Before this the renowned Adamnan had been elevated to the abbacy of Iona, which he ruled till 704. Unless we associate his name with the church of Kildavannan, there is no evidence of his connection with Bute, although he played a most important part in the history of the Columban Church. He was of the royal blood of Tirconnell, and a relative of St Columba. Little is known of him. Bede says he was "a man good and wise, and pre-eminently versed in the knowledge of Scripture." In his forty-eighth year he was raised to the abbatial chair, in 672 A.D. Both in Ireland and in Northumbria his influence was great—Aldfrid of Northumbria, who in his exile in Ireland became a friend of Adamnan's, being known as his foster-son. He visited this king at Bamborough to obtain release of some Irish captives, and, according to Bede, was so impressed with the canonical rites of the church there, that he acknowledged that both the Paschal observance and the circular tonsure which obtained in the Roman Church were right. On his return to Iona he in vain sought to induce his family to depart from the Columban usage. Not till twelve years after his death did they harmonise with Rome. His success in Ireland with this new propaganda was more speedily effected. There in political crises his opinion more than once carried great weight. In his retirement in Iona this abbot composed, about 692, the magnificent biography of St Columba, '*Vita Sancti Columbæ*,' without which we would have but a meagre view of the rise of the Church in Scotland, and also the '*De Locis Sanctis*,' or an Account of Holy Places given to him by a pilgrim named Bishop Arculf, who had visited the East. He died in 704.

Several churches in Ireland and Scotland were dedicated to him, and the names Tennant and MacIennan are survivals of his name.

Kildavannan chapel is little more than a name. The faintest traces of the foundations of a building remain on Cnocdavannan Hill, 300 yards above the farm of Kildavannan. They measure over all 19 feet long and 15 feet broad. It is interesting to note, however, that these foundations are oriented a little north of east. According to some curious observations communicated to the Anthropological Institute by Mr T. W. Shore, several of the oldest churches in Hampshire are oriented 20° north of east, a fact he attributes to Celtic influences. This orientation is thus on the line of the old May-day sunrise, a position revered by the Celts.

The origin of the name *Kildavannan* is still left in obscurity, but I would suggest an association of it with Adamnan, Abbot of Iona. His name, Adamnan—little Adam—through time assumed many and curious forms, such as *Aunan*, *Eunan*, *Onan*, and *Ounan*, as well as *Theunan*, *Skeulan*, *Teunan*, and *Fidamnan*. The hill above the old chapel is known as *Eenan* Hill. Since Kingarth was within the sphere of Adamnan's influence, it is not a hazardous conjecture to assign this chapel as a memorial of his important work in the seventh century.

Abbot Ronan of Kingarth had succeeded to the chair vacated by Iolan, and held office fifteen years before Adamnan died. But it is a most remarkable fact that Adamnan never refers, in the *Life of Columba*, to the sister monastery in Bute. It may still have remained conservative and Celtic until this very Ronan brought it into harmony with the Roman Church. This Ronan is generally associated with

another restless individual named Modan, since both their names are found in churches situated near each other, and in proximity in the Calendar, early in the month of February.

There is no memorial of Modan in Bute, unless it is found in the name of a remote spot in the wilds of North Bute, Glenvodian, which might have been a fitting retreat for so pronounced an abstainer and vegetarian as Modan was. But across the Kyle in Glendaruel he had his church at the clachan of Kilmodan, and found his resting-place at Rosneath.

They belonged to the new party, and seemed to have peregrinated freely in the west—Ronan especially impressing his name and memory at many places in the Western Isles. On North Rona certain scratchings on the rocks were pointed out as the marks of the devil's claws, when this puissant saint was expelling him thence. Ængus places Ronan's name at the 9th of February, and commemorates him as "*Espuc Ronain rigda*" (Bishop Ronan the kingly), upon which is the note "*i. Lissmor Mochuda ata*" (In Lismor Mochuda he is). Adam King, in his Calendar, makes him a bishop and confessor under King Malduin, which is quite possible, that king dying in 689.

During Ronan's term of office very important events occurred, and doubtless the ministers of religion were much perplexed at the uncertain state of affairs prevailing in the west. The crown of Dalriada had passed for a time to the Loarn family, although it returned again to the Gabran family, but not without the spilling of blood, both on sea and land. The Picts had expelled the Columban monks from their territory, and their king, Nectan, following the example of Selbach, King of Dalriada, himself became a cleric of the

new order. The ancient grudge between Picts and Dalriads again broke out, and in 736 Cengus Mac Fergus, King of the Picts, laid waste the Dalriadic kingdom—following that with another “percussion” a few years later. This Cengus was the Aidan of the Picts, who carried fire and sword everywhere against Briton and Angle, as well as against Scot. Bede calls him “a sanguinary tyrant.” He placed his heel on Dalriada, and Bute with it came under Pictish domination for a time.

Abbot Maelmanach, who died in A.D. 776, and Abbot Noe, who died in 790, were the abbots who presided over the destinies of Kingarth in this unhappy epoch, when the native Scots had to forsake their burning hearths and seek other homes. Then the very relics of the founders of the colony, the three sons of Erc, were removed from Iona to Ireland. The sceptre of Dalriada was broken. Of the personal history of those two last abbots we have not a vestige left. All we might venture to say of them is—

“Far from the madding crowd’s ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
Along the cool sequestered vale of life
They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.”

Noe just lived to the verge of that miserable age which Abbot Breasal of Iona saw, when the western seas began to be troubled, and the Church to be terrified, by the blood-thirsty Vikings. Their descent was like a deserved judgment on these unhappy peoples, who would not accept the peace proffered to them on the acceptance of Christ.

In what condition Kingarth and its dependent chapels were found by the piratical Northmen in search of the spoils of the altar is unknown. It is evident from Alan the Steward’s

charter to Paisley, that the parent house had several dependent chapels in the island. Some of these have been particularised. There are vestiges of others which may have been founded even so early as this date, and also the remains of crosses, which, however, may be referred to the period under Norse influences. These form the subject of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

MOSS-GROWN RELICS OF THE CELTIC CHURCH.

“ I do love these ancient ruins ;
 We never tread upon them, but we set
 Our foot upon some reverend history.
 And questionless, here in this open court,
 Which now lies naked to the injuries
 Of stormy weather, some who lie interred
 Loved the Church so well, and gave so largely to't,
 They thought it should have canopied their bones
 Till Doomsday.”

—WEBSTER.



THE moss-grown relics of the Celtic Church are numerous, and are interesting in the highest degree. They are discoverable in every quarter of the isle, often, too, in places where one least expects to find traces of primitive churches or memorials of an early piety. In some instances nothing but the surviving place-name is a proof that among these grey and lichen-covered ruins in the dim past holy rites were observed, and the lamp of Christian truth and love kept burning.

By far the most remarkable survival is the chapel of St Michael, in North Bute, already described, where the rude masonry, formed of gathered stones, weather and water

worn on face and edge, recalls the simple art of the first missionaries.

It is fortunate that, despite the ruthless hands of ignorant and careless visitors, there is just enough of the gables remaining to show that they sloped in curves towards the roof, or at least to the tops of the gables. The remanent walls are too perpendicular to admit of the conclusion that they likewise sloped and converged to the roof, like the well-known oratory of Gallarus,¹ but the arrangement of the stones in the west gable indicates that the plan was some modification of this primitive form.

The preservation of the rude altar-stone resting upon its two equally rude stone supports, on its original site in the eastern end of the sanctuary, as illustrated here, is, I believe, unique in Scotland.

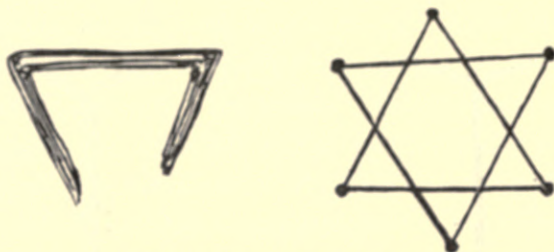
There are, strange to say, no sculptured grave-slabs of an early period here, although the graveyard has long been held in favour by the inhabitants of the opposite coasts, whose frequent interments would have laid bare any memorials of eld had they existed. The oldest monuments are rude slate-slabs not touched by the chisel.

It is quite different when one enters the sacred precincts of St Blaas, within which there remain many interesting relics of Celtic monumental art. The strangest survival is the graves themselves. In the Upper burial-ground many if not all of the graves are cists about 2 feet deep, formed of long slate or other flags, set on edge, and each covered with a long slab, narrower at one end than the other.² On these

¹ See 'Early Christ. Art in Ireland,' by M. Stokes, p. 39.

² A cist-burial took place here in 1892.

Carving on stones, from simple up to complex forms, is a characteristic of all nations, who seem constitutionally im-



Marks on Grave-slabs at Kilblaen.

pelled everywhere to produce signs and symbols similar in character.

Just as the Red Indian has his *totem* or mark of his race and personal mark, the South Sea Islander his tattoo-pattern, the Arab his tribe-sign for setting on the places he has visited or on the property he owns, so our own farmers have their own keel-mark for their flocks. Among the northern nations as well, cup-shaped indentations, rings, crosses, and variations of these in combinations, were the sacred signs in their pagan worship of nature—the sun, moon, and other powers of nature.

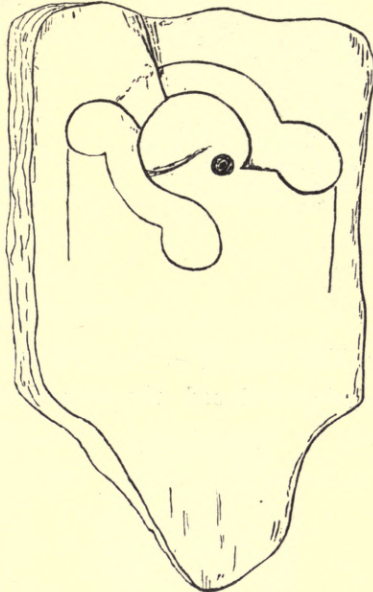
Were these H-shaped signs a survival of pagan worship, or only clan-marks to differentiate the graves? Up till the present date the inhabitants of Rothesay bury according to their families in distinct portions of the graveyard, but no similar marks are noticeable on the oldest monuments yet found in Rothesay.

It is quite possible that these slabs are the most ancient, and bear a trace of the moon-symbol in the semicircular limb on the sign, or have survived from the Scandinavian

invaders, on whose antiquities sun and moon symbols are of frequent occurrence.

Among the *débris* cleared out of St Blaen's Church were two small pieces of red sandstone, on which curious incised figures of similar pattern appear. The stone here represented is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick.

There are several head-stones in St Blaen's churchyard distinguished by cup-shaped cuttings. All the stones are of soft yellow Cumbrae sandstone. The simplest is a small circular head, of 10 inches diameter, rising from a small pedestal placed in the ground. The four cups are found at the points of a square, but the



Gravestone found at Kilblaan.

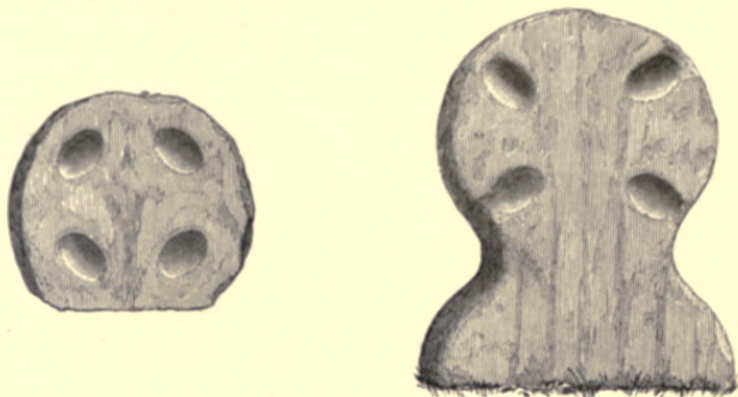
stone is too much weathered to allow any inference as to whether a cross also occupied the face of the stone, as is seen in some forms of the sun-marks originating in the ring-cross.¹

A similar simple example with a longer pedestal is seen.

A development from this form by the introduction of oval cups, so as to bring out the symbol of the cross, is observable

¹ See 'Industrial Arts of Old Denmark,' by Worsaae, p. 114.

on several stones. In some cases both sides of the stone are similarly carved.



Gravestones at Kilblaen.

The placing of the oval cup-cuttings on the edge of the circle produced the beautiful forms of the cross illus-



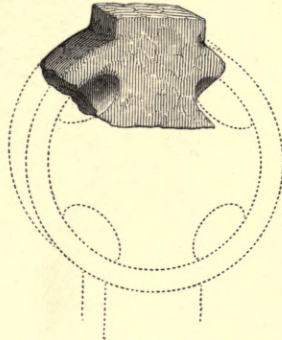
Gravestones at Kilblaen.

trated above. The cross appears on both sides of the stone illustrated by the smaller woodcut. (Height of

pedestal, 23 inches ; thickness, 4 ; height of head, 10 ; breadth, $9\frac{1}{2}$.)

A small fragment of the head of a cross, probably a high cross, indicates the use of the oval form cutting into the inner edge of a circle.

The fragment of the head of another cross found in Kilblaan, and long preserved at Plan, indicates a cross of the simple Iona type. The stone is a red sandstone. The circular head has been $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. A fragment of a small Latin cross-head is also preserved in the churchyard.

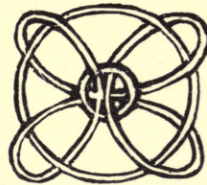


*Head of Cross found in
Kilblaan Churchyard.*

A pretty little headstone, 16 inches high, 12 broad at the base, with a circular head 11 inches in diameter, gives an



*Gravestone at
Kilblaan.*



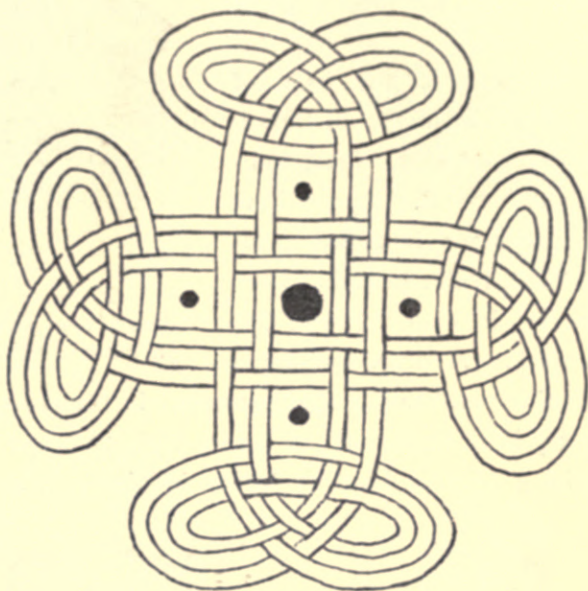
*Ornament inscribed on
Grave-slab at Kilblaan.*

example of a cross formed like the sun-wheel by the four spokes radiating from a round centre. This cross is in bas-relief.

In the Women's Cemetery at Kilblaan there exist two slabs with examples of the interlaced ribbon.

The one has the cross intersecting two concentric circles.

The other, lying in the area of the ruined building, though somewhat effaced, has been an exquisite specimen of geometric interlaced work in relief. Five flat circular bosses form the sign of the cross within the cross.



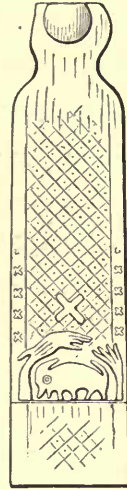
Ornament inscribed on Grave-slab at Kilblaan.

One of the foot-worn clay-slate slabs lying at Kilblaan is, from its appearance, the shaft of a cross, one side of which only has been sculptured. The upper portion of the shaft has been occupied by interlaced work now entirely defaced. At the distance of 15 inches from the base there rises a small representation of a grotesque animal browsing under what appear to be two trees. But the sculpture is very much detrited, and one of the trees might represent a bird. The slab measures 6 feet 3 inches in length, 19 inches in breadth at the base, 16 inches at the top, and 4 inches thick.

The most unique stone at Kilblaán is a small sandstone slab 30 inches high, 10 broad, and 2½ inches thick, one side



Grave-slab in Kilblaán Churchyard.



only of which is sculptured. It lies broken in three pieces. In its original state it had been divided into panels. The upper panel contains a rider on horseback. A helmet covers his head: a spear rests on his foot: a strange figure, not now intact, but probably a bird in flight, is carved in front of his face: a club-shaped thing rises between the fore-legs. The whole representation is cut in bas-relief.

The under panel is filled with diagonal cheques, and in the centre of each cheque there has been a cup-shaped indentation; but these with many of the cheques are nearly defaced.



Grave-slab at Kilblaán.

It is quite possible that on this stone' there lingers a trace

of the mythology of the Scandinavians, and that the horse-man is none other than the All-Father Odin. He is usually depicted with a helmet, as he sits mounted on his famous horse Sleipner, carrying in his hand the terrible spear Gungner, and preceded by his two Ravens. He fought his last battle on the Last Day (Ragnarok) with the Fenris-wolf and the Worm of Midgarth, deep down in the Underworld. The



*Gravestone found in
Inchmarnock.*

club-shaped ornament might thus fitly represent the Worm attacking Sleipner.

If this interpretation be accurate, the sculpture is an interesting reminiscence of that period when the doctrine of Odin, after coming to its highest development, became a basis on which Christianity set itself firmly to overcome the myths of the pagan North, and to show that in the Gospel of the Nazarene the mythical struggle between darkness and light, winter and summer, evil and good, had the only happy solution in the revelation of the will of a God of love.

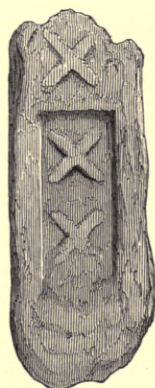
We are indebted to Mr Charles M'Fie, Midpark, for preserving a few very interesting remnants of monuments found in the neighbourhood of the burial-ground of St Marnock's Church. Some of the uncut slate slabs are engraved with rude examples of the Roman cross, †, cut by a primitive instrument.

One of these, as here figured, was found by Mr M'Fie in 1891, in the ground still called the "Women's Burial-Place," adjoining the site of the church, and consists of a blue slate

22½ inches long, 6½ broad at the broadest part, and about 2 inches thick. The cross has been incised in the natural face of the stone.

On the opposite side of the road, close to where this stone was found, a row of ancient cists are quite visible, the tops of the small thin stones forming their sides appearing a few inches above ground. They measure about 3 feet 6 inches long and 2 feet broad.

Another fragment of what seems to have been the shaft of a cross composed of slate, is still preserved in the wall adjoining this churchyard. It measures 26½ inches long, 11 inches broad, and 3 inches thick. Three crosses of the Saint Andrew pattern are carved neatly on one face, and in bas-relief. Two of them are within an incised panel 6 inches broad. On the other side of the cross what may have been the shaft of a cross, or the blade of a sword, runs the length of the stone in relief, but the head or handle is broken off.



The most interesting of Mr M'Fie's "finds" is the fragment of the head of a Rune-inscribed cross-slab which he turned up in 1889 on the west side of the road, 50 yards north of the graveyard, and just beside where the cists are still visible.

*Gravestone found
in Inchmarnock.*

This fragment measures 7¾ inches in its greatest length and 8½ in its greatest breadth, and is the terminal of a small cross formed out of a flake of schistose slate. The cross is engraved in relief over an incised circle. On the transom of the cross are clearly inscribed in later Scandinavian runes the following letters: ". . . KRUS·THINE·TIL·GUTHLE . . ."

The termination of the name GUTHLE is awaiting, but the full name was either Guthleif or Guthleik, which were common names among the Northmen, as we find in their Sagas. The subject of the monument, however, is unknown. It is an interesting link between the Celtic Church and the pious Northmen, who in a later age succeeded the piratic spoilers of her fanes. (See illustration, p. 135.)

It is fully described by Mr G. F. Black in the Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society, and conjoined with a notice of the famous Marnock, whose name I have good grounds for not associating with "The Inch," as chapter vi. narrates.

Mr C. M'Fie also found a piece of the shaft of a cross formed out of yellow sandstone beside the Runic cross. It measures $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 12 broad, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick. The ornament seems to spring out of a series of small concentric rings, and runs away either in ornamental geometric figures or in intertwined figures of animals, to meet other similar rings,—the stone, being too friable to stand the weather, leaves the ornament very uncertain. It is, however, not unlike some of the ornaments found on *fibulæ* of the earlier iron age of Scandinavia.

The hardness and the hugeness of a whinstone boulder, which probably frustrated the execrable desecrators who extinguished St Colmoc's antique church and graveyard, have preserved for us an example of a lovely cross.

In the centre of the cross a wheel is cut in relief, and within it appears the "*Swastika*" or so-called sacred sign for Thor, the God of Thunder.¹ (See illustrations, pp. 116, 117.)

¹ This symbol, "*La Croix Gammée ou Tétrascèle*" (Anglo-Saxon, *Fylfot*; to the Hindus and Buddhists *Swastika*), is found in nearly all lands with few exceptions. 'La Migration des Symboles,' par Le Comte Goblet D'Alviella, p. 41. Paris, 1891.

"Within the field where this cross stands, five stone coffins were dug up about thirty-five years ago [1805 ?] by the present tenant, Mr Hunter."¹

CELTIC CROSS-SHAFT IN ROTHESAY CHURCHYARD.—For many years there lay almost unnoticed, except by those who had a patrimonial interest in it, covering a grave in the parish churchyard of Rothesay, a rudely carved tombstone.

Up till the present time an interesting vestige of the clan system lingers in the custom which old native families of Bute retain in having their relatives buried in sections of the churchyard allocated to their names, such as the Neills (Mac-neils), Stewarts, MacAlisters, Mackurdys, MacGilchiarans, MacConachys, Bannatynes, M'Gilchatans, M'Gilmuns, and other families whose antique interesting names have unfortunately been Anglicised; and even incomers bearing any of these names have maintained some traditional right of sepulture with their clans there.

On the clan (or family) grave of the MacAlisters the slab was lying, and amid the profusion of grass the now worn traces of its beautiful interlaced ornamentation were scarcely visible. It appeared to be only a rough, crooked, silver-grey stone split from the finely grained mica-schist in which the northern part of the Isle of Bute abounds. So far, fortunately, it was the *reverse*, or less carved side of the slab which lay exposed to the weather, and thus left it unnoticed; but when I had it cleaned and turned over, its elaborately sculptured face indicated that it was none other than the shaft of a cross.

¹ Wilson's 'Guide to Rothesay,' p. 65. Rothesay, 1848.

Lengthwise the stone measures 5 feet 7 inches ; in breadth, tapering from $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the base to 13 inches at the top ;



Obverse.



Reverse.

Cross in Rothesay Churchyard.

and in thickness, varying from $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It also retains the slight natural curve of the bed from which it has been split.

The most remarkable, if not unique, feature of the cross-shaft, however, is the existence of a tenon at its upper and broader extremity, indicating that the capital had been a separate piece, fixed by means of a mortice-joint, so as to form—along with two quadrants below let into carefully bevelled sockets, still visible in the sides of the shaft—a high cross, somewhat like that of Tuam (M. Stokes, 'Early Christian Art in Ireland,' p. 138). This tenon measures 8 inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The socket on each side is cut $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the base or neck on which the cross-head rested. Each socket measures $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, and is cut with a bevel 2 inches deep.

The *obverse* of the shaft is divided into three compartments—the traces of a plain, flat moulding, about 1 inch broad round each panel, being still visible. There may have been formerly a fourth compartment, where the base is now fixed into a built foundation, but no trace of carving existed on the lowest part when examined by me. Each of these three panels contains a subject carefully carved in relief, despite the hardness of the quartz and mica field. The lowest panel appears filled with a Latin cross, rising out of a cushion or base, and is surmounted by two well-shaped crested birds, which resemble doves. The finials of this cross terminate in oval bosses.

The middle panel displays a grotesquely shaped, cat-headed quadruped in the impossible attitude of walking in a forward direction with the club-hoofed fore-legs of an animal, and in the opposite direction with the legs of a man. Vestiges of eye-sockets remain. Three upright ears (unless they form a crown) complete the head, and match the three prongs of a tail which flourishes over its rounded back.

The uppermost panel, which is much wasted by lamination caused by the weather, contains the figure of a horse, or more likely an ass, walking, and ridden by a man. When first exposed, the delineation seemed to be that of a rider in the act of falling from or leaning upon the haunches of an ass. Since exposure the figures have become less distinct.

The *reverse* of the shaft is considerably weathered and worn by passing feet. It has been divided into three panels, the upper and under being filled with interleaved ornamentation of a simple character. The middle panel displays, cut in relief, a well-shaped horse, with a rider evidently carrying a spear.

No inscription, in any characters, is visible on the stone.

When I had the cross turned over, it was found to be broken into two pieces. After receiving the consent of the family who have a patrimonial interest in it, I had it securely reunited, set firmly into a substantial socket, and re-erected on the spot where it was uncovered in November 1886.

I have since had some difficulty in tracing its history out of conflicting traditions. It is apparently a pilgrim. The most trustworthy account of its migration is that "a MacAlister of Ascog brought it from '*the other side*' to Ascog Farm, and desired it to be laid on his grave after his death."

Varying versions associated its stance with Crossmore, a prominent cross-site about one mile south of Rothesay Church; with Kildavannan, the site of a Celtic church in North Bute; and with Meikle Kilmory farm, which for generations has been partly tenanted by MacAlisters. No traces of a connection of this family with the two sites first mentioned are discoverable by me.

The Rev. William Lytteil, when prosecuting his philological

studies in Bute for his 'Landmarks of Scottish Life and Language' (Edinburgh, 1877), noted in his Journal, at date April 3, 1873: "Cross-shaft from Ascog farm. . . . It is about two hundred years since it was found on Ascog. It lay at Ascog farmhouse for about one hundred and fifty years." This author kindly appended to the extract this note: "The Journal makes mention of the figure of 'a man on horse-back,'—'of a sword,'—'2 birds, I think,'—'something like a mythical animal or dragon,'—'something like a deer at the foot.'"

This form of the tradition does not coincide with the other that it was brought from "the other side," meaning the west side of Bute, which was well supplied with Celtic chapels and cemeteries.

The clearest tradition asserts that it was transported to Ascog. I know of no traces of oratories or cemeteries near that farm. And there appear to have been flittings from Meikle Kilmory farm to Mid Ascog, and *vice versâ*, in past times, by tenantry named MacAlister. Last century there was a family of that name in Crioslagmhoire, another at Stewarthall, another at Kilchattan, &c. On Meikle Kilmory Brae (Blain, p. 92) "a small circular spot formerly enclosed [was] known by the name of Cil-keran, inducing a belief that it had been used as a place of sepulture." This was probably the little church of Ciaran, whose name was last century preserved by over forty large families (*especially in this quarter of the isle*)—viz., the Mac-Gill-Chiarans, now Sharps. Kilmory is in the Kerryfern quarter, formerly the possession of an ancient family, the Neills, or Nigels, of Bute. On an adjoining farm is the ruin of Kilmory Chapel, on another the site of Kilwhinleck Chapel.

Every place-name near savours of early Irish history. Over this whole district towers Barone Hill. According to Blain (p. 86):—

“Near the roadside (going towards Kilmory), at the foot of Barone Hill, is shown a spot where a pillar, 9 feet high, [was] erected several ages ago as a monument of a barbarous murder committed there on a laird of Kilwhinleck, by one Nicol Mackeown, commonly known by the name of Willie Nierbal, who took the laird's widow to wife, expecting by that means to secure to himself the estate also.” Nierbal himself met a foul end; and a posthumous son was born to the murdered laird, so that “the estate descended by that circumstance in the right line.” We are told Nierbal's body was buried after his death at the place where he murdered Kilwhinleck. The monumental stone was removed by the late James Stewart,¹ proprietor of that place, and laid by way of a bridge over a brook at Rothesay. There had been some rude carving on one side; the figure of a griffin was visible, but it is not known whether there was ever any inscription.²

The indefiniteness of the above narration leads me to suspect that Blain had neither seen the monument, nor knew its

¹ The James Stewart mentioned here was the eccentric minister of Kingarth from 1740 to 1755, for whose convenience that parish was kept vacant for sixteen years. He was laird of Kilwhinleck, and died about 1780. His manse for the new kirk at Mountstuart was situated on an eminence over half a mile beyond Ascog, and in proximity to the farm of Mid Ascog, in Kingarth parish, the residence of the MacAlisters. After being deprived of his charge, James Stewart came to reside at Kilwhinleck, in the new mansion he erected there in 1760, called Stewarthall.

² Reid, in his ‘History of Bute,’ p. 32, adds to this account a sentence, apparently taken from a MS. of Blain's History, that the Kilwhinleck stone was “afterwards put to a similar use as part of the covering of a sewer going off from near the well in the High Street, opposite the entry to the New Vennel, where it may possibly still remain.” But, as if doubtful of this, he proceeds to show some similarity between this stone and the cross-shaft now in Rothesay Castle. The latter, however, was brought from the Chapel of St Mary when repaired in 1816, according to Dr Stuart in his ‘Sculptured Stones.’

resting-place. There is a small brook crossing the road to the parish church, which is covered over with schistose flagstones, which is the only likely place for its being utilised. Had it been accessible, Blain would have inspected it. So I would assume that it had been removed before Blain came to Bute in 1760, and that he only narrates the hearsay on the subject.

From the Rev. Dr Maclea's Parochial Visitation Books for 1774-1776, it appears that at or near Kilwhinleck resided Robert M^cAlester, his wife, and a family of four girls, designated as from "Kingarth." A John M'Alister, who is credited with being born at Ascog, before this had a brother Robert, who latterly resided at Kilchattan Bay. Now it is very improbable that any M'Alister would remove a large monument from a farm he was vacating, say Meikle Kil-mory, far, in Bute especially. As instances prove, there was a superstitious dread of molesting such memorials, and such an act would not only have been deemed sacrilegious, but, as in the case of the spoliation of St Marnock's Chapel in 1718, would have subjected the offender to the discipline of the kirk-session. On the other hand, if a similar stone was removed from his estate at the instance of the reverend and ambitious laird of Kilwhinleck, who had long been a source of irritation and trouble to the kirk-session and presbytery of the bounds, and who, anxious to found a great house, neither relished being childless, as he was, nor yet the romance, likely mythical, connected with that monolith,—then who would be so likely to be asked to remove it as this Robert M^cAlester, who, to his own credit be it said, with rare good sense, conserved this antique relic? Through him it might reach Ascog. Speculation aside, the Kilwhinleck monolith has

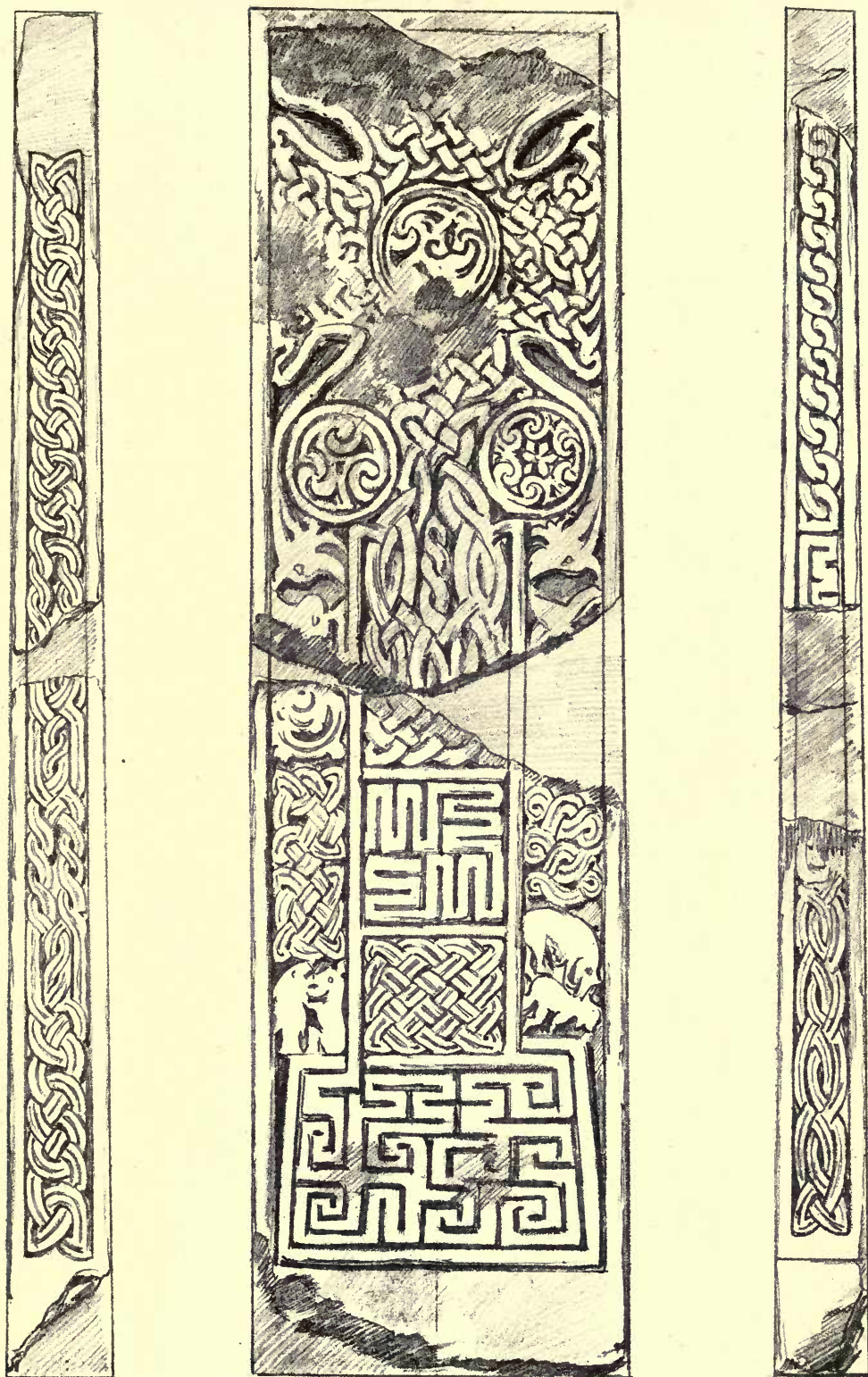
not been traced since it was removed a hundred years ago. Yet there is nothing incompatible between the connection of this relic of the Celtic Church in Bute with its subsequent monumental usefulness in relation to the murdered laird, be he a subject real or mythical.

Being a cross, and with a circle connecting the arms, it must be enumerated among the High Crosses; and its Celtic art and symbolism would, from their execution, lead us to date the work, not too early, say the eleventh century. But it might be earlier still, since the position of Bute, between Dalriada and Northumbria, made it susceptible of all new influences. The dedications in the island, such as to Ninian, Brioc, Catan, Marnoc, Blaen, and many others, illustrative of the influence of British and Irish Churches, prove the favoured situation of Bute.

The church of Kilwhinleck, now obliterated, may indicate the influence of the famous Irish Finnian of Moville, teacher of Columba, but who, as a pupil of Nennio at Whithorn, was better known to the Cymric Britons, who preserved his name in Kilwinning, in its Cymric form, Wynnin.

In the "Grant by James IV. to the landholders in the Island of Bute, dated 16th August 1506 ('Reg. Mag. Sig.' xiv. 300), we find mentioned, 'Johanni Makgylquhynnych, terras de Cawnoch.'" This family name, Mac-Gill-Whinnich, like Mac-Gill-Chatan, Mac-Gill-Chiaran, Mac-Gill-Mun, Mac-Gill-Mhichell, and others in use here till the beginning of this century, prove the connection of Butemen with the early Celtic Church.

But in the absence of historical records, our survivals, like this interesting cross, can only be the subject of happy and reasonable speculation.



· CROSS IN ROTHESAY CASTLE ·



CROSS IN ROTHESAY CASTLE.—Two fragments of a white sandstone slab, beautifully sculptured on one face and the two edges, are now preserved in Rothesay Castle. According to Dr Stuart, who has illustrated them in the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland': "The stone here figured was found about the year 1816 in clearing out the rubbish from St Brieuç's Chapel. It has lain in the courtyard of the castle since that time."¹ This is a reference to the repairing of St Mary's Chapel in 1817 by the Marquess of Bute. The lower half measures 3 feet 4 inches long, 19 inches broad at the base, and 20 inches broad where the slab is broken: the upper part measures 2 feet 9 inches long and 20 inches broad. The slab is 5 inches thick—the edges being engraved with interlaced ornamentation. It has the appearance of having been a memorial slab rather than a cross. It may have covered one of the bishops laid to rest in St Mary's Church early in the fourteenth century, but in all probability is a relic of a still earlier epoch.

Kilmorie (Church of Mary) is built upon the rocky face of the hill, 220 yards south of Little Kilmory farm, a short distance above the highway, and is a ruin still well defined since the Marquess of Bute had the hidden site excavated. It is a rectangular building, composed of small stones split from the surrounding rocks, and bound with clay. It is oriented, but not exactly. Its external measurements are 35 feet by 17 feet 9 inches at the west gable, and 17 feet 6 inches at the east; its internal, 30 feet by 13 feet 6 inches and 13 feet 9 inches. The gables are 2 feet 6 inches thick; the side walls

¹ Vol. ii. p. 36, plate lxxii. Spalding Club, 1867.

2 feet thick and about 2 feet 6 inches high. The north wall is broken at 18 feet 6 inches from east gable, probably for a door. Directly opposite is a similar break. The north gable is pierced to form a runnel for the water gathering on the floor—the bare rock. At a distance of 30 feet from the church are the remains of the circular stone “cashel,” or wall of circumvallation. About half a century ago, while the road here was being repaired, a lead coffin and cists were exposed, and an iron or bronze hammer-head found. The latter was lost. The Exchequer Rolls in 1440 refer to *Kylmor*.

Cranslagvourachy, Crioslagvourathy (circle of Vourathy), from its name, may have been an oratory dedicated to an Argyle Culdee Saint, Muredach,¹ but there is no tradition regarding this supposition.

Cranslagmorie, Crioslagmory in former times had a chapel dedicated probably to the Virgin Mary. The site of it was in what is now known as “the Chapel-field” on the farm of Acholter (field of the altar, *achadh, altair*), where occasionally yet the plough exposes the foundations of a building.

Cruiskland Chapel (Blain’s ‘Hist.’ p. 398) is a strongly built edifice of a rectangular shape, picturesquely situated under a high rock on Nether Ardrosdale farm, on the level ground stretching down to the shore, about a mile north of St Ninian’s Chapel. The north wall measures externally 36 feet 6 inches; the south, 35 feet 6 inches; the gable walls each 21 feet 6 inches broad; internally respectively 31 feet,

¹ “Oct. v. In Argadia Murdachi Culdei, cognomento Bardi.”—‘Menologium Scoticum.’

30 feet 6 inches, and 14 feet 6 inches. The walls remain from 3 to 4 feet high, and from 3 to 3 feet 6 inches thick. Clay is the cementing medium of the stones. The door was in the middle of the south wall. The church is oriented a little north of east. Blain narrates that a century ago the hallowed ground was then marked out; to-day the huge stones of a former enclosing wall are still visible. Two aged ashes growing in the ruins mark the time which has elapsed since the fane was deserted. A well bubbles up above the chapel. To whom it was dedicated is not known. From the composition of the name of the district—*Ard-roscadale*—we might expect some connection between *rosc* or *drosc* and *Kruisk-llan*, or *Kruisk-church*.

Baileachaibil, or Chapeltown, was a cluster of houses on the west bank of Loch Fad, the ruins of which are still visible under the shade of old plane-trees. Its name associates it with some chapel, which must have existed prior to the parish church in the immediate vicinity, if we are to account for its necessity, or which was a memorial chapel that fell into desuetude. There is a substantially built well at the spot. Two ranges of edifices seem to have existed, and this fact corresponds with the notes in Dr Maclea's Visiting-Book, that two families of sixteen persons lived here in 1774; in 1814, one family of two persons. A circular well-built wall encloses an empty space on the south side, overshadowed by ash-trees, where the chapel may have stood. North of these foundations is seen a small grass-grown circle 18 feet in external diameter, 8 feet in internal diameter, 2 feet in height, evidently the foundations of a round stone edifice, the nature of which I have not discovered.

St Mary's Chapel and St Bride's will be described in vol. ii.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NORTHMEN AND VIKINGS.

"Sir Ralph the Rover sailed away,
 He scoured the seas for many a day
 And now, grown rich with plundered store,
 He steers his course for Scotland's shore."

—SOUTHEY.



THE northern nations of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, having felt the impulse given to culture by the restless conquering nations of the South, began themselves to ferment and develop, so that it became imperative for them to find outlets for their energies. These were got in two directions: internally, by the development of personal and national faculties in trade, art, science, and literature; and externally, by the overflowing of the population into the channels of martial colonisation. The time usually assigned to these movements lies between 700 A.D. and 1000 A.D. With both movements Scotland, with Bute, has a concern. Driven from home, as well by the lack of food as probably by the tyranny of masters and rulers, the Northman was not without the genius to turn his fearless and adventurous spirit to the best account. From infancy familiar with the sea, he soon learned the art

of boat-building, and became expert in facing the deep with seaworthy ships, manned by daring crews. The coasting expeditions of the Danes were soon changed into bold descents upon England, France, and the sunny shores of the Mediterranean. The men of Norway ("the Noregs-Vaelde") seemed to have tended in a westerly direction, and found their way to the Shetlands, Orkneys, and other isles, from which they ultimately swept out into the Hebrides and southern isles, which they called the "Sudreyjar," and therein met the fleets of Danish sea-rovers arriving by the southern channels.

What at first was only the adventurous voyage of a "Sir Ralph the Rover," became soon an organised expedition of fleets of fierce-looking craft, which arrived in the summer and harvest-time, in search of spoil as well as glory. Out of *Sumarlidi*, or Summer-Wanderers, they developed into conquering settlers.

The likeness to their native land of the western seaboard of Scotland, with its fertile isles, sheltered lochs, and creeks, where their ships could ride secure, and safe and tempting friths and kyles, through which they could skim like sea-birds, so charmed the Northmen, that each successive visit excited the desires of their countrymen to see this happy hunting-field; and in consequence the descents of the northern baysmen, "Vikings," became of such national importance as to necessitate the control of them under law. The visitors soon became colonists, and mixing with the dispossessed inhabitants, formed new settlements of their own in their adopted land.

To the Christian Celts of the west they bore the distinctive name of "Gentiles"—the Norwegians being called "azure

Gentiles," and the Danes "black Gentiles." In the Irish Annals and the Welsh Chronicles the date of the first appearance of these Gentiles is the year 794 A.D. :—

"794 Kal. Ian. Anno Domini Dccxcij. Vastatio omnium insularum Britannie a gentibus."¹

The next year we find them infesting the Hebrides, spoiling Iona, spying out the coasts of Ireland, and in 798 wasting by fire and sword St Patrick's Isle off the coast of County Dublin, and the other isles between Erin and Alban. Probably then the light of St Blaen's altar at Kingarth suffered extinction, as that of Columba in Iona did four years later.

In 802 the Danes burnt the sacred edifices of Iona to the ground, and rendered that monastic retreat so insecure that the monks, for the most part, fled with the relics of the founder to Ireland. The absence of these treasures may have been the reason why, in 806, the ruthless Danes murdered the whole remaining community of sixty-eight persons. Not merely the greed of plunder, but a deeply imbued spirit of revenge for the cruelties perpetrated upon the subjects of King Siegfried by Charlemagne, was the motive of the pagans for this wicked conduct. They wrecked the churches everywhere, slew the men, enslaved the women, and, until their own conversion to Christianity, became the insolent tyrants of Alban and Erin. At last they turned their swords upon themselves, and also upon their native land, which they revisited to foray.

Space does not permit of the narration of the events by which, early in the ninth century, the Northmen had ob-

¹ 'Ann. Ulster.'

tained a secure settlement on the mainland of Ireland, and how, later, King Olave the White established the Danish kingdom of Dublin. From that centre he issued on many a bloody expedition to the Western Isles, and as far as Dumbarton, which he utterly destroyed. In the train of his triumph were borne away much spoil and crowds of captives from Strathclyde, Pictland, and the Isles, notwithstanding the close alliance of Olave with the Pictish king, Kenneth, whose daughter he had married. Olave's successors were also given to similar filibustering in the West.

In 883, Harald Harfagr, or The Fairhair, then in his thirtieth year, and a petty king in Norway, established himself as ruler of a united kingdom. As a result of this, his vanquished opponents fled into the Orkneys and Shetlands, from which they issued on piratical raids of retaliation upon the mother country. Unable to tolerate these irritating expeditions, Harald, at the head of a well-equipped fleet, pounced down on the Orkneys and Sudreys, and, wiping out the Vikings, established his monarchy as far as the Isle of Man at the close of the ninth century. He left behind him Jarls, or petty kings, to secure his conquests and levy the tribute which he exacted.

After his death, in 936, there developed a complication of movements of a political character, involving the various nationalities in Alban, Erin, and Britain in bloody conflicts, all of which made for the ultimate consolidation of these kingdoms under single kings of native birth. The Isles assumed a king of their own, who ruled the Inchevall, or islands of the Strangers, and their mixed population of Gallgaidhel. It would be difficult to say whether Bute at this particular period was included in the possession of the Nor-

wegian King of Man, the King of the Isles, or of the King of the Scots. At any rate, it was harried frequently by the Northmen out of Man and Dublin, as well as by the no less ruthless fleets of the Gallgaidhel, with both of whom the Scots as yet were not able to cope in marine warfare.

The men of Cowal—the Lagmanns—in the end of the tenth century, with their fleet scoured the seas as far as South Ireland. They again, under Godred, King of Man, have to reckon with Sigurd, the brave Earl of Orkney, who swept all before him in the west, and there collected tribute, both for himself and his superior, King Haco.

While Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, sat on the throne of Scotia (1005-1034), and Brian Boru held the sceptre in Ireland, the question of a foreign occupation had ripened, and the time had arrived when the Goidels were ready to cast out the Northmen. The two parties, Irish and Danish, armed and gathered for a final struggle. The men of Alban joined Brian, the Islesmen under Sigurd swelled the foreign host, and we reckon Bute sent its quota of warriors. They met on Clontarf's bloody field on Good Friday, 1014. The Danes were completely overthrown, and Erin recovered her freedom. Sigurd was among the slain, and thereafter his father-in-law, King Malcolm, appears to have obtained allegiance from some of the chiefs of the Western Isles.

According to the 'Chronicle of Man,' Godred Crowan of Man, in 1068, "humbled the Scots to such a degree that no shipbuilder dare insert more than three bolts in a ship or boat."

The 'Originales Parochiales,' quoting "Memoir prefixed to Bute Inventory," informs us that "Walter the first, Steward of Scotland, who died in 1093, is said to have obtained Bute

from King Malcolm II.”¹ There is room for gravely doubting this statement, since, in the charter conferring the office of Seneschal of Scotland upon Walter, the son of Alan Dapifer, granted by Malcolm IV. in 1158, he is infefted in the lands disposed to him by King David I., and Bute is not mentioned among the number. This Fitzalan of Shropshire probably entered the service of Malcolm III., or, still more likely, joined the retinue of David, who had been so long resident in England, as will be more fully elucidated in a succeeding chapter.

The Irish annalists paint the Vikings with a broad brush and the darkest colours. They were a fierce and impetuous race, who showed their worst characteristics in the marauding expeditions led by restless warriors. But at home, and in times of peace, they enjoyed the fruits of a high state of civilisation. Their works of art, especially metal-work, with its very artistic ornamentation, their seaworthy ships built with much skill, their precious codes of laws, their customs and their literature, show that the Northmen were naturally a clever people, who were, according to the times, in an advanced condition of civilisation. In Sir George Dasent's preface to ‘*The Story of Burnt Njal; or, Life in Iceland at the end of the Tenth Century*,’ is to be found a vivid and interesting description of the Northmen at home, which cannot fail to impress the reader with a better opinion of the Northmen than we can form from the acts of selfish and cruel Vikings on the war-path. In their home dealings they were honest and affable, kind to their friends and considerate to their inferiors. They were bluff and blunt, but had a

¹ Vol. ii. Part i. p. 224.

special horror of truce-breakers and tale-bearers. In war they were as resistless as the storm.

Their civilisation had been influenced by that of Rome. Consequently they were in the enjoyment of arts and trades which were unknown in the countries they overran. Their embossed coinage, founded in the Western Isles, was in use long before Scotch kings had a royal mint. They were law-abiding citizens in their own realm; and to the system of government which the Northmen set up in their colonies we are not a little indebted to the popular form of our own.

In every colony there was set apart either a natural or artificial Thingmote, judgment-hill, on which the judges and leaders of the people were seated, above the surrounding meeting-place where the freemen determined measures of peace and war, which were proclaimed from the top of the hill.

In the Isle of Man till this day no enactment of the Parliament (the House of Keys) becomes law until it is duly proclaimed from the Tynwald Hill. A similarity to many other *motes* throughout the country has suggested to me the possibility that the hill on which the Museum of Rothesay stands was used for such a purpose.

During all these troublous times the Northmen practised their own pagan rites, apparently unaffected by the religion of the monasteries they plundered. However, in 995 Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, who had been baptised in the Scilly Isles, converted the whole of his countrymen by a *coup de main*, a change which had little or no effect upon the sea-rovers in their hunger for the relics of the Christian Church. The *Colonial* Danes in Dublin had about the tenth century abandoned the pagan rites in favour of the Christian

religion, and this may have been the case in other districts where the Northmen had really settled themselves in proximity to the ancient churches.¹

The Northmen also had an elaborate system of religion, which permitted of every householder or head of a family being his own priest as well as the absolute master of his own household. Their religion was somewhat similar to those of Greece and Rome. Odin was the all-powerful Father and God of War. There were under him Æsir or lesser gods; and over all was Fate. There were also the customary spirits or wraiths, flitting about especially over grave-mounds, whose ministry seemed indispensable in pagan religions. When describing their temple (Hof) Dr Dasent says:—

“These buildings consisted of two parts, a nave and a shrine, which last is expressly compared to the choir or chancel of Christian churches. It was built round and arched. In it, in a half-circle, stood the images of the gods, and before them in the middle of the half-circle was the altar (*stalli*). On it lay the holy ring (*baugr*), on which all solemn oaths were sworn; and there, too, was the blood-bowl (*hlaut-bolli*) in which the blood of the slaughtered victims was caught, and the bloodtwig (*hlauttvein*), with which the worshippers were sprinkled to hallow them in the presence of the almighty gods. On the altar burned the holy fire, which was never suffered to be quenched. The worship of the gods consisted in offerings or sacrifices (*blot-form*) of all living things, sometimes even of men. These for the most part were criminals or slaves, and therefore, in the first case, these human sacrifices stood in the same position as our executions.

“Near every Thing-field, a spot closely connected with the temples, stood the stone of sacrifice, on which the backs of those

¹ ‘Orkneyinga Saga,’ Preface, xxi; Stokes, ‘Hist.,’ Lec. xiii.

victims were crushed and broken, and the holy pool in which another kind of human sacrifices were solemnly sunk."¹

Captives taken in war, called "thralls," were also immolated. On momentous occasions, when fortune was supposed to have forsaken the king or people, a special human sacrifice was demanded, and for this purpose the people rose and burned King Olaf, offering him to Odin; King Ann sacrificed seven sons to prolong his life, and Hakon Jarl gave up his seven-year-old son, Erling, to turn the luck in battle.

"On Thorsness there was a very holy place (*helgi-stad*); and there still stands Thor's stone, on which they broke [*i.e.*, the backs of] those men whom they sacrificed, and near by is that *dom-ring* where they were sentenced to be sacrificed."²

The reintroduction of these hateful bloody ceremonies came like a blight upon the Celtic Church, and in many places the Christian altar became the centre of pagan saturnalia, and the site of human sacrifices. But wicked as these Northmen were at first, they too had to succumb to the softening influences of the Gospel truth, and, by the tenth century, to illustrate again how "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!"

The Northmen in the Viking period frequently buried their dead with great solemnities, including the sacrifices of human beings and animals, all of which were burned to ashes on a pyre, before being deposited in an urn under a mound or in a simple grave. The ashes of those of ordinary rank were deposited in a clay urn, and sometimes in the stone cooking-kettle belonging to the departed. Frequently their favourite weapons were laid beside their dust.

¹ 'Burnt Njal,' Preface, xxxvii, &c.

² 'Viking Age,' vol. i. p. 369, quoting 'Landnama,' vol. ii. c. 12.

It was customary also to bury the dead unburned under a mound. Warriors were entombed in boats or ships, in which their weapons, utensils, treasures, and even followers, were placed at their side, so that they might have pleasing associates in the unseen world; then all were covered with a mound of earth and stones.

Weirder still were the obsequies when a dead or dying hero, laid upon a pyre on his own deck—loaded with weapons and his dead or dying mates—was launched back into the deep, and the burning ship was cast adrift in all her bravery of full-set sail.¹

There have been no discoveries in Bute which can clearly be associated with the occupation of the Northmen except the rune-marked cross already mentioned,² and consequently there is no necessity for fuller illustration of the manners, customs, and products of the Northern settlers.

The daring enterprise of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway (1093-1103), in the Sudreys, brought Bute into greater prominence on account of its strategic position in the Scottish realm. Godred Crowan (1070-1095) had seated himself on the thrones of Dublin, Man, and the Isles, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and the sovereignty of Norway was in abeyance. Magnus, however, in 1093, made a triumphal expedition, with an irresistible fleet, from Orkney to Anglesea, and by fire and sword again made good his claim to empire in the west. As Snorro relates, an arrangement was made with the King of Scots that all the isles of Scotland towards the setting of the sun, round which a ship might be steered, were to be ceded to Norway. Kintyre, almost an isle, was cut out by this cun-

¹ 'Viking Age,' vol. i. p. 333.

² Chaps. vi. and xii.

ning provision. The Vikings, not in love with the stormy Mull of Kintyre, had been accustomed to drag their galleys over the neck of land at Tarbert to facilitate their bloody raids on the Clyde. Magnus adopted the same expedient, and seating himself at the helm, with the tiller in his hand, he steered his bark, which his crew dragged over the isthmus, and Kintyre was declared an isle of Norway.¹ No incident could better occupy a canvas. Snorro describes this mighty king going into battle, in which he fell in Ulster a few years later. His head was helmet-clad. His blood-red shield bore a lion in inlaid gold; over his glittering armour a silken cloak of scarlet, blazoned with another lion, floated around his shoulders. By his side hung his trusty weapon, a terrible tool of death, by name Leggbitr, or leg-biter, whose ivory handle and interlaced golden hilt belied its ugly purpose. Withal as comely a hero as the azure eye of Gentile might look upon was whilom Lord of Bute.

Godred Crowan was succeeded by his sons Lagman and Olaf. Olaf, surnamed *The Bitling*, died in the same year as King David I. of Scotland, in 1153, after a long reign, seemingly independent of Norway. King David is said to have seized Bute and the Clyde islands during Olaf's reign, but there is no evidence of it, although it is exactly what one would expect from a king who had returned from England imbued by feudal ideas, and accompanied by Norman swordsmen ready for any enterprise demanding prowess. Though David was Prince of Cumbria, "he did not rule over the whole of the Cumbrian region," according to the 'Chartulary

¹ 'Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ,' p. 236.

of Glasgow,' and doubtless his anxiety would be to secure the debatable lands on the insular borders, which were "coigns of vantage" to his kingdom.¹ Whether as allies or subjects, the "Insulani," or Islesmen, formed a portion of the ill-fated Scots army, which, under David, entered England, and were defeated at the battle of The Standard in 1138.

In this period arose into distinction and power the family of Somerled of the Innsi Gall, or the isles west of Argyle, the stem of the Lords of the Isles in after-days, who traced their line back into the mists of the heroic past of the Scoto-Celts. Their native right to possession and rule in the west cannot now be shown. Somerled, or Sumarlid, the masterful ruler of Argyle, however, had strengthened his position by marriage with Ragnhild, a daughter of Olaf Bitling, King of Man. Both Somerled and his family play a very important part in regard to the history of Bute, after the consummation of this alliance.

Olaf the White, like David, was a patron of the Church, and had endowed a Cistercian monastery at Russin, over which an engaging monk called Wimund was set. The fascinating manners and looks of this Skyeman so captivated the Manxmen that they clamoured for his enthronement as bishop. That elevation scarce proved high enough for him. Throwing aside his disguise, or his veracity, he announced himself as Malcolm Mac Heth, Earl of Moray, and rightful King of Scots, then made espousals with a daughter of Somerled. The alliance was fruitful of war, and with mailed hands they clutched at the crown. Somerled and he, with fleets and

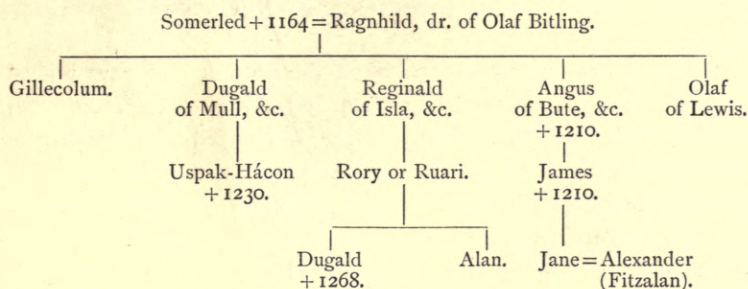
¹ 'Chart. Glas.,' p. 4.

soldiery, harried the Scottish lands. But at last David captured Wilmund, and cast him into prison. His cowl alone preserved his head. Ultimately he was brought back to his proper monastic cell. David died, leaving Somerled to pursue his ruthless animosity towards the Scottish monarchy, under Malcolm, and his aggrandising policy against Godred of Man, whom Somerled drove into exile in Norway. Bute and the Sudreys then fell into the hands of Somerled (1156-58), who did not rest till, with a fleet of 160 galleys, he gaily sailed up the Clyde as far as Renfrew in 1164, in order to subdue Scotland. There, in defeat, his troublous life was taken, in all likelihood, by the followers of Fitzalan, the Steward of Scotland, who surprised the "band of roysterers," as an old historian called them. At this juncture, as a grateful reward, Walter the Steward may have received a grant of Bute from King Malcolm IV.

The death of Somerled occasioned the partition of his lordship among his sons, the securer part in the north falling to the eldest living son, Dugall (founder of the Macdugall house of Argyle and Lorn); Isla, Kintyre, and probably half of Arran, to Reginald (founder of the house of Isla, through Donald his son); and Bute, with the other half of Arran, to Angus. Reginald and Angus soon quarrelled; and Angus and his three sons were killed in 1210, thus permitting Dugall and Reginald to apportion their lands again, the Isles being held from the King of Norway, the mainland from the King of Scotland.

In this way Bute was granted by Reginald to his son Roderick, Rory, or Ruari, without regard to the fact that Angus had left a granddaughter, Jane, who was to marry

Alexander (Fitzalan) son of the High Steward of Scotland, then in possession of Bute.



This triple disputed claim wrought much woe to the fair isle itself, the only part of which was free from bloodshed being the churches, whose sanctity all parties observed. In King William the Lion's reign Alan the Steward maintained his precarious possession of Bute, and very probably erected the circular part of the present castle of Rothesay for the garrison who defended it for the Scottish king.

The pretensions of the Somerledian princes kept the Western Isles so unsettled that both the kings of Norway and of Scotland determined to obtain their definite and secure allegiance, while the King of Norway tried to supersede his vassals by a governor who would show respect to the Crown. Uspak, the grandson of Somerled, a man of years, was chosen to reduce the Sudreys to Norway, and in order to dignify his power was promoted to the status of a king, with the complimentary title of Uspak-Hácon, in 1230. His fleet was not long in reaching the west, and in scattering the forces of his warlike relatives. When the expedition rounded the Mull of Kintyre on the way to Bute, Uspak was in command of eighty galleys.

In Bute they found a castle (*kastölum*) commanded by the Steward (*stivarör*). In all likelihood it was Rothesay rather than the equally strong fortress of Castle Cree.

"The Norwegians sat down before the fortress, and gave a hard assault. But the Scots fought well, and threw down upon them boiling pitch and lead. Many of the Norwegians fell, many also were wounded. They therefore erected over themselves a covering of boards, and then hewed down the walls, for the stone was soft, and the rampart fell with them; they cut it up from the foundations. That Master of Lights, called Skagi Skitradi, shot the Steward dead while he was leaping upon the ramparts. Three days did they fight with the garrison before they won it. There took they much wealth and a Scots knight, who ransomed himself for three hundred merks of fine silver. Of the Norwegians there fell Sweinung the Swarthy, and in all about three hundred men, some of whom were belonging to the South Isles. They here met a great storm, and lost three ships with the men and all that was on board."¹

Uspak-Hácon himself was mortally wounded by a stone, but survived till he reached Kintyre, whence his body was borne to Iona.

Olave the Black was King of Man and the Isles till 1237, and was succeeded by Harold, Reginald, and Magnus, his sons, who respectively died in 1248, 1249, and 1265. Alexander II. of Scotland, bent on obtaining the Western Isles, sent envoys to the King of Norway, first asking their cession on the ground that they were wrongfully acquired by conquest, and afterwards offering to purchase them. Haco the king, in reply, reminded Alexander that it was not from Scotland that King Magnus Barefoot had won the Sudreys, while his own lawful possession was guaranteed by a treaty

¹ Johnstone's 'Anecdotes of Olave the Black,' p. 37.

with the Scots king. Nor was he so needy of money as to sell his heritage.¹ Alexander, fired like his greater namesake, vowed he would seize them and plant the Scots Lion on Haco's farthest isle, and indeed set out to accomplish his vain boast. The fever of war was soon turned into a mortal one, and he expired in the Sound of Kerrera in 1249, leaving his sword to a minor. The vexed question of the sovereignty of the Isles slumbered for fourteen years, till Alexander III. reached his majority, and determined to fulfil his father's vow.

Magnus was now on the throne of Man: Eogan, or John, his father-in-law, had held Argyle; but Dugald, the son of Ruari, the second cousin of John, was acknowledged sole King of the Sudreys, and a vassal of King Haco, and his father Ruari laid claim to Bute, which he, after the battle of Largs, obtained from King Haco.

In 1262, while King Haco was enjoying the peaceful government of his own realm, and with his cultured Court was encouraging trade, art, and literature, news reached him that the Sudreys were again in a warlike ferment. His mind was harrowed with details of brutal outrages perpetrated by the mainland Scots on his vassals, whose helpless children were being used as playthings cast from Highland spear to spear, and whose churches blazed as beacons of war. It was rumoured that Alexander was secretly preparing to subdue the west, and the Scots Lion was about to spring on its unoffending prey. The exiled Butemen, with ruthless Ruari at their head—now an accepted subject at Haco's Court, and a revengeful villain to boot—and the other resident dis-

¹ 'Chronicon Mannie,' Munch, p. 20.

possessed Celtic chiefs, did not minimise the impending danger. Haco's council declared for open war, and military and marines were summoned to meet the king at Bergen early in the summer of 1263.

In forge and shipbuilding-yard the noisiest preparation was heard all winter, as the hammers clinked together the "sea-borne wooden coursers of Gestils," and riveted the grey-steel cuirasses and helmets of bronze. A man-of-war was specially built for the king. "It was constructed entirely of oak, and contained twenty-seven banks of oars. It was ornamented with heads and necks of dragons, beautifully overlaid with gold." The bulwarks hung with burnished shields. Although he had been six-and-forty years their king, Haco roused the national enthusiasm by announcing he would himself sit upon "the stern of his snorting steed adorned with ruddy gold." He boasted he knew the Western Isles and Kyles full well as any of his admirals. Fair and ruddy of countenance, he sat above his gallant men.

The Abbot of Holm, four royal chaplains, the officers of state, scions of noble houses, and hostages from Western chiefs—in all, two hundred men—formed the gay retinue and crew of the royal galley. With the sunshine and breeze of a July day falling on the fleet of one hundred vessels, no wonder the poet described the scene as like the flight of "the sky-blue doves with their expanded wings," as the ill-fated armament ploughed out of the haven of Herlover into the glory of the setting sun.

A similar activity prevailed in Scotland, especially on the threatened seaboard, and every stronghold from the Mull of Galloway to Inverness was refortified and stored with munitions. The Steward no doubt saw that the breaches on

Rothsay caused by Uspak-Hácon were securely repaired, and that the stores of pitch and lead and stones were available for the battlements, but he himself was with the army of the Scots now concentrating in Ayrshire. The castellan, being either a traitor or a coward, soon capitulated, as is afterwards related.

Early in August, Magnus King of Man met Haco in Skye, and a little later Dugal and the clans of the Hebrides proved their allegiance at Kerrera. These local fleets swelled the Armada to 160 sail. Then Kintyre fell into the invader's hand ; but the king endeavoured to restrain the indiscriminate ravages of his greedy troops on its often harassed lands.

From Kerrera "he also ordered five ships for Bute : these were under the command of Erlend Red, Andrew Nicolson, Simon Stutt, Ivar Ungi Eyfari, and Gutthorm, the Hebridean, each in his own ship." This squadron he afterwards reinforced from Gigha.

"King Haco, however, made Andrew Pott go before him south to Bute, with some small vessels, to join those he had already sent thither. News was soon received that they had won a fortress, the garrison of which had capitulated, and accepted terms of the Norwegians. There was with the Norwegians a sea-officer called Rudri. He considered Bute as his birthright ; and because he had not received the Island of the Scotch he committed many ravages, and killed many people ; and for that he was outlawed by the Scottish king. He came to King Haco and took the oaths to him ; and with two of his brothers became his subjects. As soon as the garrison, after having delivered up the stronghold, were gone away from the Norwegians, Rudri killed nine of them, because he thought that he owed them no goodwill. Afterwards King Haco reduced the island as is here said (by Sturla in the Raven-Ode) :—

'The wide-extended Bute was won from the forlorn wearers of rings
By the renowned and invincible troops of the promoter of conquest ;
They wielded the two-edged sword ; the foes of our Ruler dropt ;
And the Raven from his field of slaughter winged his flight for the Hebrides.'

"The Norwegians who had been in Bute went to Scotland, where they burned many houses and several towns. Rudri, proceeding a great way, did all the mischief that he could, as is here described :—

'The habitations of men, the dwellings of the wretched flamed.
Fire, the devourer of halls, glowed in their granaries.
The hapless throwers of the dart fell near the Swan-frequented plain,
While south from our floating pines marched a host of warriors.' "

A little later we find Allan, this bloodthirsty ruffian's son, in an expedition of sixty ships, under King Magnus, and, along with his brother Dugal, scouring Loch Long. Near Tarbet they drew their light galleys over to Loch Lomond, burning, desolating, and murdering as they went still further inland. Allan was the marauder, and drove before him "many hundred head of cattle." The saga idolises him thus :—

"Our veterans fierce of soul, feeders of wolves,
Hastened their wasteful course through the spacious districts of the mountains.
Allan, the bravest of mortals at the fell interview of battle,
Often wreaked his fatal vengeance on the expiring foe."

In 'The Dean of Lismore's Book' there is an old Gaelic poem, with the title "A houdir so ym bard roygh finlay"—The author of this is Finlay, the red-haired bard.¹ It begins thus :—

"The one demon of the Gael is dead,
A tale 'tis well to remember,
Fierce ravager of church and cross,
The bald-head, heavy, worthless boar."

It proceeds to refer to Allan Mac Ruarie from the ocean far, of whom the poet says, "first of all from hell he came," then "ravaged I (Iona) and Relig Oran." Dr M'Lauchlan was of

¹ Dr M'Lauchlan's edition, pp. 110, 143. Edinburgh, 1862.

opinion that Allan Mac Ruari lived in the fifteenth century. The poem would equally well describe the ruthless work of Haco's ally.

Early in October raged wild tempests of hail and rain, wrecking many a brave galley, so that the Northmen thought the troubled floods bewitched and the deep horribly enchanted. The masses said by Haco's priests could not exorcise them. They saved Scotland in her extremity. Meantime fruitless negotiations as to an amicable settlement of the dispute proceeded between the two kings. Each would have or keep the isles—Alexander insisting especially upon possessing Bute, Arran, and the two Cumbraes. Haco then gaily sailed past the Cumbraes and found anchorage in Rothesay Bay, where he awaited the turn of events. The storm interfered with Haco's plan of an orderly assault on his foe. The Scots army was massed above the town of Largs, under Alexander of Dundonald, the Steward of Scotland. On Monday, October 1, they had exciting skirmishes with the men of some of the ships which had been wrecked. Next day the Northmen stood in to Largs with reinforcements in small boats, and hand-to-hand bouts, desperate charges and rallies were made. Both sides boasted of their victory, but, after all, the battle was a small affair, in which few of the more distinguished invaders fell. The tempest raged the while. The storm-stayed and battered squadron of Magnus, probably filled with spoil and with Highland neat, returned from Loch Long. They carried with them Ivar Holm, who had died of disease. On Wednesday the Northmen returned to land, and gave their fallen comrades Christian burial in a neighbouring church—whether at Largs, Cumbræ, or Bute is not mentioned. Still King Haco hung around two days, till on

Friday night, accompanied by Magnus and the Somerled princes, he set sail and anchored in the bay of Lamlash. "The king then ordered the body of Ivar Holm to be carried to Bute, where it was interred." This honour to his brave captain, without doubt, would be paid at St Blaas's. As the funeral-galleon returned to the retreating fleet, the Scots saw the last sail of the terrible Northmen in the waters of Bute. The allied vassals then sought their various homes confirmed in their honours. Rudri was invested in Bute, Margad in Arran, Dugal in Kintyre. The attenuated fleet steered for Orkney, where unfavourable winds kept it. In Kirkwall Haco sickened, and on the 15th December died. His attention to religion, his consideration to his brave followers, and his tenderness to the grieving attendants of his death-chamber, show that Haco was worthy of the love his subjects gave him. In spring of 1264 his body was conveyed to Bergen, and round his tomb a nation wept.

The Scots, overjoyed at their good fortune, attributed their victory and deliverance to a special Providence in the storm. They followed up their advantage by launching out expeditions against the Isles, which, from Caithness to Man, King Alexander speedily reduced to allegiance to his crown.

Negotiations were begun anew between Magnus IV., the successor of Haco, and Alexander for the settlement of their dispute. These ultimately ended in the making of a treaty in 1266. Its terms were to this effect: The Scottish Isles, with the exception of Orkney and Shetland, were to be ceded to the King of Scots, without prejudice to, however, or interference with, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and metropolitan rights of the Norwegian Archbishop of Nidarös; Alexander agreeing that in return the Crown of Scotland would pay to

the Crown of Norway, for all time, annually 100 merks sterling, not later than July 1, in the cathedral of Kirkwall,—also 4000 merks in four annual instalments ; it being also mutually agreed that the violator of the treaty should pay 10,000 merks sterling, upon the order of the Apostolic See, their mutual referee.

Thereafter the former Norwegian vassals made peace with Alexander, and the descendants of Somerled, including Allan, were granted lands in the north-west, far from their much-loved Bute. And in the Parliament of Scone, in 1284, before

“ Alexander the king wes deid,
That Scotland haid to steyr and leid,”

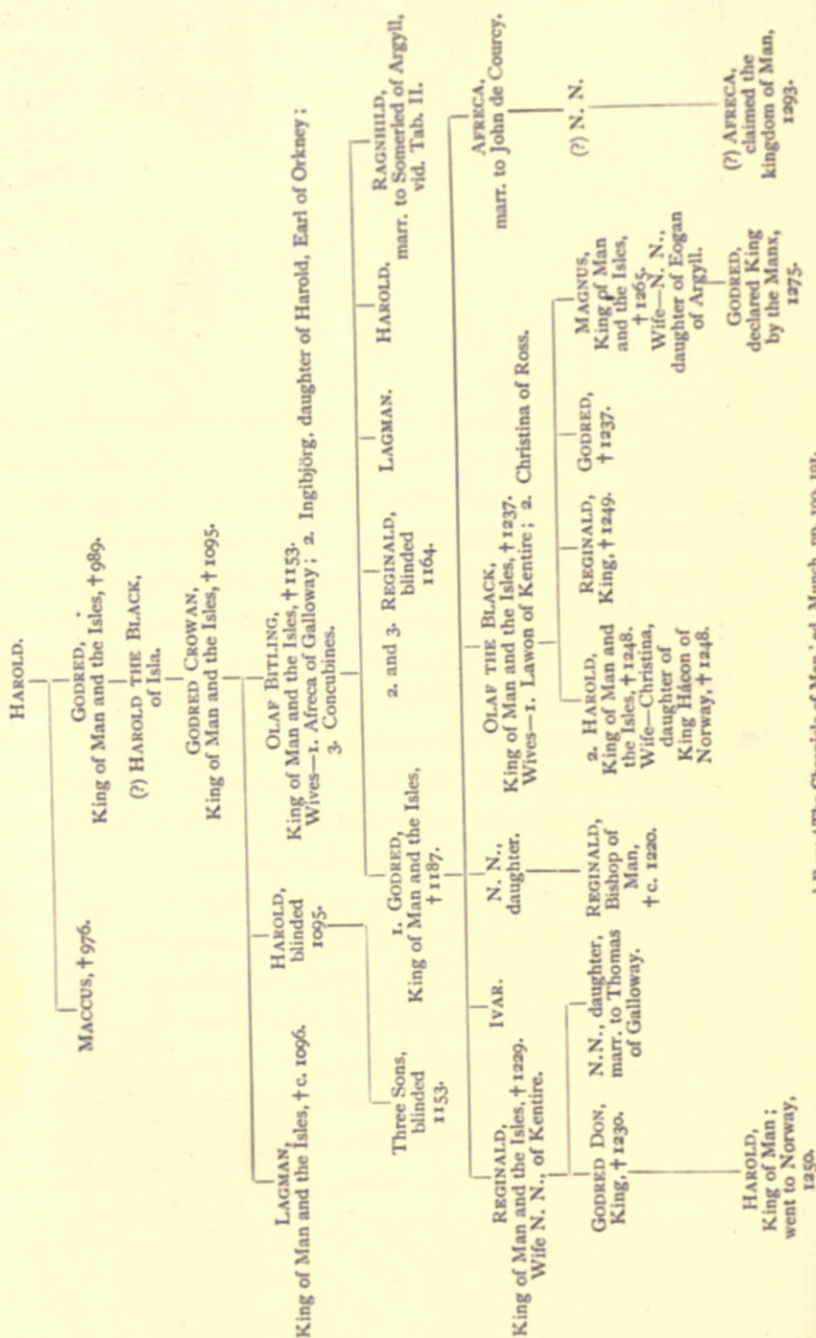
we find bloody Ruari's son—Alanus filius Roderici—one of the Scots barons who solemnly bound themselves to acknowledge King Alexander's granddaughter—the infant Maid of Norway—as their sovereign, should the king die without another heir.

Thus the Northmen ceased from troubling ; and no more of the Celtic maids, of the rich spiral rings of gold, and of the lovely webs for which the Sudreys were famous, were borne over the seas to whet the envy of the dreaded Vikings. Bute at least rested till “ our auld enemy ” appeared from England.

[GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.¹

I. THE ROYAL LINE OF MAN.



II. THE SOMERLEDIAN LINE.

GILLE-ADOMNAN,

probably a descendant of Gille, Earl in Colonsay,
and the sister of Earl Sigurd of Orkney,
about A.D. 1000.

GILLEBRIGDE or GILBERT.

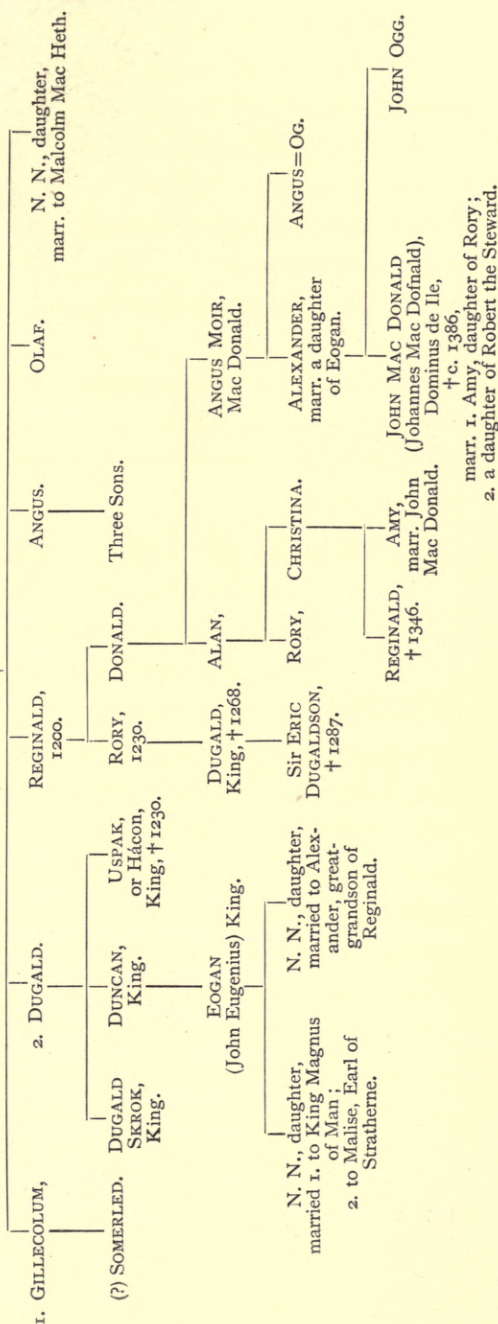
SOMERLED the elder, † 1083.

GILLE-ADOMNAN.

GILLEBRIGDE.

SOMERLED the younger, † 1164.

Wives—I. N. N.; 2. Ragnhild, daughter of Olaf, King of Man.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE BISHOPS OF SODOR AND MAN.

"The great of old,—the meteors of an age—
 The sceptred monarch and the mitred sage;
 What are they now? The victims of decay—
 The very worm hath left its noisome prey!"



LARGE dioceses were of earlier formation in England than in Alban, or as it long afterwards came to be called, Scotland. The unique system of the Celtic Church permitted a bishop to have his jurisdiction practically anywhere he was favoured with a charge, and in consequence his diocese might be movable, enlarging or decreasing, there being no fixed see. Generally speaking, however, the bishopric was the scene of the activity of the bishop, who stationed himself among a sept or tribe, in a clachan, or in a town-land.

The head of an abbacy or monastery—presbyter or bishop—exercised authority in various dioceses, wherever the churches or houses originating from, dependent on, or affiliated to that monastery were situated. Thus Columba ruled in Iona, Alban, and Erin; the Abbot of Bangor in Kingarth; the head of Kingarth probably in Dunblane and in Northumbria.

All this incohesion and overlapping of influences was changed by the growth of the organised episcopal system with a metropolitan at its head, which was gradually effected by ecclesiastical movements from the south. The extension of the kingdom of Northumbria into the heart of Scotland, and the ultimate subjection of its Celtic Church to the English Church, were the foundation for the claim of the Archbishop of York to be considered Primate of the Church in North Britain. During the time of Bede there were four Saxon bishoprics in Northumbria—viz., York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitherne—and York was the archbishopric (734).

Pope Gregory at this time proposed that twelve suffragans in the north should acknowledge the archiepiscopal dignity of York.

The Northumbrian Church almost disappeared during the distressing anarchy resulting from the Scandinavian invasions; but again reviving, only to backslide again, it was in danger of serious decadence when King William and his resolute Norman warriors appeared in 1066.

William made short work of the native bishops, and enthroned in the vacant sees Norman nominees of his own, who would homologate the regal will—notably Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, an Italian; and Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York. The patriotic English nobles fled in great numbers into Scotland, and settled in the southern counties, where they were a menace to England. William came himself to smite the Scots and their English refugee allies with his rod of iron in 1072. Thomas considered himself their Primate.

The Isle of Man had never been incorporated in any of

the Anglo-Saxon dominions, but retained its Celtic character until it was subdued along with the Western Isles by the Northmen. Its Church organisation was of the simple type prevalent in Erin and Alban, out of which from the earliest times its ministry had been drawn—St Patrick himself, according to tradition, having preached there. Among the missionaries credited with having exercised episcopal functions in Man are Amphibalus (360), Germanus (447), Conindicus, Romulus, Machutus (Machilla) (498), Conan (648), Contentus, Bladus, Malchus, Ceode (712), Torkinus (889), Finghin (966). It is not in the least likely they extended their labours beyond that isle, in times when the seas were scoured by ruthless sea-robbers who had not yet been mollified by Christian virtues.

It is open to grave doubt what Worsaae, the distinguished Danish archæologist, states in 'An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland,'¹ that a distinct bishopric of the Sudreyar was founded in 838. Until a regular government of the Western Isles, under the Jarl or petty king whom King Harald Harfagr (p. 239) appointed after his conquests in the Sudreys, had been firmly established, it is most improbable that a Bishop of Sodor either existed or exercised authority over the Churches. A Bishop of Man may have existed. The times were scarcely ripe for the domination of the Roman Church over the whole Celtic Church in the Isles under Bishop Torkinus, who is mentioned as "Episcopus Sodorensis" in the year 889.

The Danes of Dublin were not converted to Christianity till the tenth century, and until the twelfth century in Ireland

¹ P. 288. London, 1852.

the dioceses were generally tribal.¹ In Norway till the beginning of the twelfth century bishops had no fixed dioceses. The bishopric was probably founded before Man was governed by its own independent kings, and no likelier epoch could be suggested than that when Olaf of Dublin, the rebel Danish King of Northumbria, was formally acknowledged by King Eadmund of England on condition that he became a baptised Christian. King Olaf's reign ended in 943. His successors were somewhat pagan in their character, and their visits to the shrines were oftener for than with gold and silver. Consequently we find that 'The Chronicle of Man' only places two bishops in the see before the settled times of King Godred Crowan (+ 1095)—namely, Roolwer (Hrolfr), evidently a Northman from his name, and William. On the other hand, the Icelandic Annals do not recognise any Bishop of Man before Ragnald, who died in 1170, a fact explained by reference to the bull of Pope Anastasius IV. in 1154, which transferred ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Sudreys from the Metropolitan See of York to that of Nidarös in Norway. These Annals further assert that after Ragnald's death a vacancy of forty years occurred, during which the Bishop of Nidarös did not consecrate a successor. Then Koli, the Nicolaus of the Chronicle, assumed the mitre. Meantime, however, a complication of a most peculiar character seems to have originated, by which either rival titular bishops were appointed, or the diocese was divided into Man and Sodor.

The Chapter of York, the Monastery of Savigny, and afterwards its daughter-house of Furness, and the king,

¹ Stokes, 'Ireland and the Celtic Church,' p. 275.

clergy, and people of Man, all claimed the right of appointing the bishop.

A pretty little intrusion scandal arose, no doubt, when two or three bishops found themselves with a single episcopal seat—Wimund, John, and Nicholas being bishops at the same time as William and Gamaliel. Information regarding them is very scanty; but from the places of their nativity, the houses out of which they are elected, and their burial-places, we can conclude there were three parties—the native Celtic party, the Norse party, and the English or York party—all patronising the Manx diocese about the same time.

Thomas, the energetic Primate of York, before his death in 1114, had consecrated to the See of Man the Skye priest, Wimund, who, as we have seen, aspired to royal honours in Scotland, and falling into the hands of King David, was submitted to such indignities as to prevent any other impostor of his blood rising to claim the throne.¹ After his captivity in Roxburgh Castle, he was liberated and sought a retreat in Byland Abbey, in Yorkshire, where, with evident delight, he used to recount his adventures to his fellow-monks, jocosely boasting that "God alone had been able, through the faith of a simple bishop, to vanquish him," but had he been left his eyesight, his enemies would have had less to boast of.² William of Newbury, in Yorkshire (1136), probably a contemporary writer, gives a circumstantial account of this unscrupulous character, and he is referred to by Matthew of Paris and by Fordun as Malcolm Mac Heth.

¹ Stubbs, 'Acta Pontiff Eboracens' (Twysden, p. 1217); Matt. Paris.

² 'Gul. Neubrig. Hist.,' &c., vol. i. William says Wimund was "obscurissimo in Anglia loco natus."

According to Matthew of Paris, the successor of Wimund was John, a monk from the Cistercian Monastery of Savigny. About 1130, Nicholas, a monk of the Abbey of Furness, was elected bishop, but his elevation does not seem to have been agreeable to the Primate of York, for in the 'Chronicle of Man,' Gamaliel, an Englishman, is mentioned as if the former had been set aside. Depositions at the point of the sword were not infrequent then, and arguments in favour of Ultramontaniam were answered with cold steel.

About a year after the Nidrosian metropolitan see was erected (1152), whereby the jurisdiction of York was set aside, we find Ragnald or Reginald, a Norwegian, entering into the See of Man, and, probably supported by King Godred, who had just returned from Norway with confirmed regal authority, obtaining valuable concessions of the fruits of the benefices. Godred and his episcopal confessor had soon to reckon with Somerled of the Isles, who drove them both into exile.

There was not lacking a religious spirit in that masterful Gael, however thin the veneer of his piety was, which afforded itself some satisfaction by having or seeing another Argyleshire man, Christian, placed in the bishop's chair. His place of sepulture in Bangor, Ireland, probably indicates the seminary where Christian was educated, as well as the tendency in Somerled to have the Church governed after the time-honoured Celtic model. Somerled himself, however, soon fell, and under the changed *régime* a Manxman, named Michael, was appointed bishop; but he is not mentioned by the Islandic writers, proving that English influences were at work, or that irregularities of consecration, which the Archbishop of Nidarös complained of to the Pope about 1204,

then existed. The diocese at this time was called *Episcopatus Sudereiensis*, alias *Manensis*, and later, *Insulanus*.

Nicholas, another Argyleshire man, seems to have been regularly consecrated, and is mentioned under the name of Koli. He was buried in Bangor in 1217. His immediate successors, Reginald and John, apparently owed their consecration to York, and accordingly were not recognised by the chapter at Trondheim. Reginald, a scion of the royal house of Man, was buried in Russin. John perished by fire, and was laid to rest at Jarrow-on-Tyne.

In Bishop Simon, consecrated in 1226 by Peter, the Archbishop of Nidarös, was found an able ecclesiastic, who strengthened the episcopal position by building the Church of St German as the Cathedral of Man and the Isles, and appointing a chapter in connection with it. The synodal statutes promulgated by him are extant, but of little value. He died in 1247.¹

On Simon's death the chapter appointed the Archdeacon Lawrence in his room, but this step gave rise to popular dissatisfaction, and before Lawrence had received consecration, he was drowned in the voyage to Norway in 1248. To him succeeded Richard, an Englishman, who was consecrated in Rome by Sörli, the Archbishop of Nidarös, in 1253, and ruled the diocese till his death in 1274.

It was during Richard's tenancy of office that the fateful battle of Largs was fought, and subsequently, in 1266, "Magnus IV. of Norway, King of Man and the Islands," ceded the Sudreys to Alexander III. of Scotland, "together

¹ 'Manx Soc. Publications,' vol. ix.

with the right of patronage of the Bishopric of Man," the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Nidarös being retained.

In the Treasury of Durham Cathedral is preserved an Indulgence from Richard, Bishop of the Isles, to pilgrims visiting the Feretory of St Cuthbert and the Galilee (Misc. Chart., No. 814). It is dated at Durham, Nativity of St John the Baptist, the first year of his episcopate (1253). The seals of the bishop are attached. An oval seal, 2 inches by $1\frac{3}{8}$, shows the bishop in the attitude of benediction, holding the crosier in his left hand, with title—

"... DI · EPI · SODOR EN MĀNĒN · & IN ..."

[Ricardi Episcopi Sodorensis Mannensis et Insulani.]

The counter-seal, a rounded oval, seven-eighths of an inch by six-eighths, bears a chimæra with the motto—

" + ASCENDE CALVE AS[CENDE S]ALVE."

The Columban Church throughout Scotland did not at once, and universally, accept and practise the usages of the Roman Church, which were recognised by the Celtic Church in Northumbria immediately after the great disputation at Whitby. The country was too unsettled for any conjoint action which could have uprooted the stubborn regard of the northern races for their first Church, with its rites and doctrines. One result, however, of the defeat of the Celtic by the Augustinian ecclesiastics was the assumption, at a late date, by the Archbishop of York of jurisdiction over the bishops of Scottish Northumbria.

The See of Galloway alone submitted itself to this new jurisdiction, and its bishop, down to the fourteenth century, was consecrated by the Archbishop of York.

The Scots Church was monastic rather than episcopal in its form of government until the twelfth century, King David finding only three bishoprics in Scotland on his accession to the throne—namely, Dunkeld, St Andrews, and Glasgow.

In the Western Islands, many of them remote from the centres of Roman and English influences, there was a greater likelihood that the characteristics of the early Church would be long retained. But from the eighth century till the twelfth, two great influences which were brought to bear upon the Church in Bute must be noted, the one external and the other internal, which could not fail to make a deep impression on its life and work. The one was for a time subversive and destructive, the other partly destructive, but on the whole reformative.

The one was the deformation by the Northmen, the other was the transformation by the Church of Rome—an influence at work from within the Church, changing still more the character of its organisation, so that, thereby weakened, it had to succumb to the more powerful Church of the south. When the abbots had to flee the monasteries, carrying with them the shrines of their patrons, the abbey lands were seized and retained by laymen. The peculiar law by which the succession of abbots in the early Church fell into the hands of the heir of the founder of the Church, or of the tribe who had granted the land, led to the usurpation of the possessions of the Church by lay-chieftains.

The lay-abbot did not take orders, but employed a regular ecclesiastic to perform his functions. The church frequently vanished except in the title borne by the lay appropriator.

While these changes were developing, the Roman Church was extending its influence more and more throughout Scotland by subordinating the Church under a hierarchy of secular clergy, as those who do not live under monastic rule are at present. Meantime the Columban monks were becoming more and more attached to Roman usages. Sometimes they joined together to form a small society, like that on St Serf's Island, which was suppressed by King David I., by being placed under the canonical rule of St Regulus. Ultimately all the "Culdee" communities were suppressed.

By the changes of dynasty and the forfeiture of the lands of the defeated, the Church lands also were sometimes left without owners. These were granted to the favourites of the king. However, in 1204, Alan, the son of Walter, was somehow able to dispose of the Abbacy of Kingarth, with all its lands and dependent chapels, to the Cluniac Monastery of Paisley. In this gift is to be noticed the two great movements operating in the Scottish Church from without and from within—viz., the Church lands falling into the hands of lay-abbots who retained their patronage, and the gradual disintegration of the Columban Church, with its subsequent amalgamation with the monastic Church of Rome.

The Cluniac order of monks settled in Paisley and St Blane's were a reformed order of the Benedictines, founded in 912 at Cluny, in Burgundy, by Berno, Abbot of Gigny. They were strictly monastic, having no bishop within their walls, wherein they laboured in silence, saying the Psalter at work, and attending two masses daily. They were a strict and

studious order. It was not until the monasteries became corrupt that the satirist had cause for declaring that

"The Friars of Fail drank berry-brown ale,
The best that ever was tasted ;
The Monks of Melrose made gude kail,
On Fridays, when they fasted."

The Cluniacs were under the jurisdiction of an abbot and prior, and the mother-house of Wenlock in Shropshire, out of which the priory of Paisley was supplied, owned the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Cluny. Their monastic habit was a black frock over a white, sleeved tunic, and a black cowl to cover the head. What form the monastic establishment at Kingarth now took does not appear, and when it developed into one of the simple parish churches, which were for the first time recognised in David's reign, is not known.

During the same century Reginald, son of Somerled, King of the Isles, Lord of Argyle and Kintyre, founded at Saddell a Cistercian monastery of reformed Benedictines, whose mother-house was Citeaux, founded in 1098. They had eleven abbeys in Scotland (including Deer, Dundrennan, Glenluce, Melrose, Sweetheart). These monasteries were placed in retired spots, and were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. To Saddell Reginald gave the twenty-merk lands of Cesken.¹

But simultaneously with this foreign movement there was a reaction of native origin which had a considerable effect in retaining some of the characteristics of the early Church. Some of the Scottish chiefs who were not educated in England, or still retained a patriotic regard for national "use and

¹ 'Reg. Mag. Sig.,' lit. xiv., No. 408; Spottiswood's 'Religious Houses.'

wont," resented the revolutionary measures affecting the Church. Chief among these was Malise, the Earl of Strath-erne—the only county palatine in Scotland. He was of the ancient Scottish blood, and, becoming leader of a Celtic party, began to resist the innovations of the English and Norman colonists, whom David I. patronised. His family has the sole honour of having endowed a bishopric on an old Columban foundation—viz., that of Dunblane, whose church dates back to the seventh century, and seems to have been an offshoot from Kingarth.¹

All the efforts of this Celtic party, however, could not resuscitate the Celtic Church, whose last remnant in the Cul-dees eventually disappears before the irresistible forces of the powerful orders of the South. When King David gave Lochleven to the Augustine monks, in the Culdee library were found a few books, sixteen in number, three of which were the Pastoral, the Gradual, and the Missal in use in the Celtic Church. Before David died he saw the Irish Church accept the full Roman service; and in Scotland the Liturgy used in Salisbury Cathedral, which was called Osmund's 'Ordinal,' or 'The Sarum Service,' was being used in Glasgow Cathedral by Herbert, 1147-64.² Although this Celtic movement was not able to counteract the Anglicanisation of the Church, it had one good result in causing the resuscitation of dedications to old Celtic saints, whose names had been omitted from the Calendars since the time Queen Margaret tried to reform "*the barbarous rite*" of the Columban Church. The restoration of the anniversary festivals of these

¹ 'Liber Insule Missarum,' Pref. iii. ; Skene, vol. ii. p. 402.

² 'Aberd. Brev.,' Laing's Pref.

saints found greater favour when the wars of succession began. In that period it was not uncommon to satisfy both clerical parties by a double dedication, where a famous Roman saint was associated with a local one, with claims to popular regard. In the 'Register of the Priory of St Andrews,' p. 346, instances of this kind are given, in the association of St Lawrence with St Coman at Rossieclerah, and of St Stephen with St Moanus at Portmoak.¹

We have another illustration of no little interest to us in the double dedication of Rothesay Church to St Mary and to St Brioc, which perhaps helps us to limit the period within which this church was erected.

As has been already pointed out, the churches and Church lands in Bute had, in 1204, been attached to the Monastery of Paisley by Alan, son of Walter the Steward. As no *Antiqua Taxatio*, or ecclesiastical rent-roll of the Isles, is now extant, it cannot be stated what the fruits of the benefices were, or to whom they were paid. Paisley does not seem to have drawn the rents at any time.²

While Scottish influences prevailed, five Scots priests in succession received the episcopal dignity, and ruled over the churches of Sodor and Man.

A native of Galloway, by name Mark, after the customary disputings, in 1275 occupied the bishop's chair, and proved himself not only to be a practical man but a patriotic Scot. He rose to be Lord Chancellor of Scotland, suffered much for his loyalty to the Scottish Crown, and was taken prisoner to London by Edward I.³ He died blind in 1299, after being

¹ Cf. Forbes's 'Calendars,' Pref. xxii.

² 'Reg. de Passlet,' pp. 67, 68.

³ Gordon's 'Iona,' p. 99.

for twenty-four years in office, and was buried in St German's. The synodal statutes he promulgated are also preserved, and one of them is thoughtfully practical in its injunction upon married persons not to sleep with their children lest they should smother them. His seal is also preserved in a document in the Chapter-house, Westminster. Under a Gothic niche is the figure of a bishop vested, and in the act of benediction. The inscription runs: "S. Marci Dei Gratia Sodoren Episcopi."

The Scots bishops apparently selected St Brioc's Church, Rothesay, for their cathedral; St Mary's Chapel, which was probably rebuilt in this epoch, served as their place of sepulture.

'The Chronicle of Man' states that after Mark, "Alan, a native of Galloway, ruled the Sodorian church honourably, died on the 15th of February 1320, and is buried in the church of the blessed Mary of Rothersay in Buth." This Allan or Onachus was consecrated by Iorund at Drontheim. The Chronicle further informs us: "To whom succeeded Gilbert Mac Lelan, a native of Galloway. He was the bishop of Sodor for two years and a half, and is buried in the said church of Both."

Gilbert, like his predecessors, was a man of figures, and appears in 1326 auditing the books of the constable of Tarbart Castle. He seems to have been a favourite of King Robert Bruce, and in constant attendance upon him in different parts in Scotland, as we gather from the Exchequer Rolls.¹ The same year his lordship pays a tax in barley to the king, and saw that his clergy did the same, for

¹ Vol. i.

after his death in 1327 the $\frac{1}{16}$ penny of Man is not being paid.

In the accounts for 1329 an entry stands, from which we can infer that Gilbert was a staunch supporter of the Bruce's throne:¹ "Et Cudberto, frater domini Gilberti, quondam Episcopi in partem expensarum factarum circa sepulturam ejusdem, iiii lib."—To Cuthbert, brother of Lord Gilbert, formerly bishop, towards the expenses incurred in his burial, £4. It is a pity that this monument, partly erected by King Robert to his faithful bishop, is no longer distinguishable.

The next bishop was the Chancellor of Scotland under Robert the Bruce, Bernard de Linton, who had been appointed Abbot of Aberbrothoc in 1211, an office he held till the spring of 1328, when he was elected to Sodor. Bernard was a patriotic Scot, an esteemed adviser of his sovereign, and an able administrator.²

In the 'Book of St Thomas of Aberbrothoc' is found a deed of gift assigning to Bernard a pension out of the benefice, and in laudatory terms declaring how he had "lived well, laudably, and honestly," prudently and circumspectly ruled the house, and had expended the fees of his chancellorship in repairing and maintaining the abbey.³

In 1328 King Robert grants him £100 "for his expenses about the business of his election," probably incurred in going, like his predecessors, to Trondheim for consecration. The following year he also receives a small gift of £6, 13s. 4d. So well did the Bruce love his bishops.

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. 152.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 114.

³ 'Liber S. Thome,' &c., vol. i., No. 358. Bann. Club.

Bishop Bernard, after four years' service, was laid to rest in Kilwinning. His successor, Thomas, another Scot, according to the Chronicle was eighteen years bishop, died on the 20th September 1348, and was buried in Scone. But he could only have been fifteen years in the office, since we find his successor, William Russell, in the summer of 1349, returning from Avignon, where he had been consecrated bishop by Bernard, Bishop of Ostia. Pope Clement VI., in confirming this appointment, directed letters, among others, "to his beloved son, the noble man, Robert, called Stuvard, the Senescall of Scotland, Lord of the Isle of Bute, in the Diocese of Sodor."¹ William was a Manxman, and had been Abbot of Russin for eighteen years. After an episcopate of twenty-six years he died, and was buried in Furness.

The same year, 1374, the clergy of Man elect another native to the vacant see—John Donkan. He had previously been the Archdeacon of Down, and held the responsible position of papal Nuncio and collector of the papal revenues.² His commercial methods had not given satisfaction to his superiors, and the Chronicle notes how he was cast into prison at Boulogne until he was redeemed for 500 merks. Simon de Langham, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, invested him with episcopal authority in 1374 at Avignon. Pope Gregory XI. confirmed the appointment, and wrote, among others, to King Robert III., and to the Metropolitan of Nidarös, informing them of his choice. He died in 1380. The 'Chronicle of Man' breaks off without acquainting us of his end.

¹ Munch, 'The Chronicle of Man,' p. 166; 'Diplomatorium Norwegicum,' vol. vii. pp. 218-221.

² Ibid., p. 282.

In 1380 the Bishop of Man voluntarily separated his diocese from the other Sudreys, but subsequent bishops have assumed the ancient title of Sodor and Man. In the line of episcopal succession came Bishops Robert Waldby, John, Michael, Angus, John (1442), Angus, Robert (1492), John, George Hepburn, John (Roderike Maccalister), Ferquhard Maclaghlan, Roderick Maclean, Alexander Gordon, John Campbell, John Carsewell (Andrew Knox, Protestant prelate).

In 1542 the diocese of Man was legally annexed to York by Act of Parliament (33 Henry VIII., cap. 31). The Scottish Church, however, continued the succession of bishops until the abolition of Episcopacy at the Revolution, and in Rothesay churchyard is to be seen the tombstone of Robert Wallace, who died in 1675, the inscription on it beginning: "Hic Jacet Reverendus Robertus Wallas, Episcopus Sodo-rensis," &c.

The following is a translation of the part of the Latin 'Chronicle of Man' relating to its bishops:¹—

"These were the bishops who filled the episcopal see of Man from the time of Godred Crouan and some time before.

"The first existing before Godred Crouan began to reign was Bishop Roolwer, who lies in the Church of Saint Machutus. Many bishops indeed existed from the time of the blessed Patrick, who it is said first preached to the Manxmen; but from that period it suffices to begin a retrospect of the bishops. It is sufficient, we say, because who or what bishops existed formerly we know not, since we neither find written materials nor have we learned from the accurate accounts of the Fathers.

"After Roolwer existed Bishop William.

"After William, in the days of Godred Crouan, Hamond the son of Iole, of Manx extraction, undertook the episcopal office.

¹ Edited by P. A. Munch. Pp. 28-31. Christiania, 1860.

“To him succeeded in the diocese Gamaliel, an Englishman, who is interred at Peterborough in England.

“After this bishop, Ragnald, a Norwegian, undertook the ecclesiastical government. To him the Thirds of the churches of Man were first conceded by the clergy, so that thereafter they might be freed from episcopal exactions.

“Cristin [Christian], an Argyle man, succeeded him in the bishopric, and is interred in the monastery of Bangor.

“After him Michael, a Manxman, revered in life as a monk honourable and gentle in act and inclination, undertook the sacred office; he, after ending his life in a ripe old age, was honourably buried at Fountains [Abbey.]

“Nicolaus, an Argyle man, succeeded him. He lies in the monastery of Bangor.

“After him Reginald, a noble man, of royal extraction, was consecrated bishop, and with vigour ruled the church. He was daily exhausted by weakness, although he was not always lacking in spirit. In the act of praise to God, in a good confession, he breathed his last, and is buried in the Abbey of Saint Mary of Russin.

“His successor in the bishopric was John the son of Hefare [John M'Ivar], who, through some miserable accident, and the carelessness of his servants, met his death by fire. He lies at Jerewos [Jarrow?] in England.

“After him Simon, an Argyle man, highly discreet, and erudite in Scripture, ruled the church of Sodor. He departed life in a good old age at St Michael's Church, and is interred in the Church of Saint German, which he had begun to build. After his demise the see was vacant for nearly six years.

“After Simon, truly the venerable Bishop of Sodor, Richard, an Englishman, who had been consecrated at Rome by the Archbishop of Nidarös, ruled the church for twenty-three years. While he was coming from a General Council, A.D. 1274, he died at Langalyver in Copland, and is buried in St Mary's Monastery at Furness.

“After him Mark, a Gallovidian, ruled the church of Sodor for twenty-four years most excellently. He was exiled by the Manxmen, for which reason the island was under interdict for three years. Afterwards, however, having been recalled, he returned, and for the

relaxation of the aforesaid sentence they [the people] gave a penny from every smoking hearth, which donation through ancient practice is paid to each successive prelate on returning from the visitation of the Isles.

"This Mark, liberal and urbane, died blind in a good old age, and is buried in the Church of Saint German in the Isle of Holm.

"After him Alan, a Gallovidian, ruled the church of Sodor honourably. He died on the 15th day of the month of February, A.D. 1320, and is interred in the church of the blessed Mary of Rothersey in Buth [Bute].

"Gillebert Mac Lelan, a Gallovidian, succeeded him. He was Bishop of Sodor for two years and a half, and is buried in the aforesaid church of Both [Bute].

"Afterwards succeeded Bernard, a Scotsman, and is buried in the monastery of Kilwynyn in Scotland. He lived in the diocese four years.

"To him succeeded Thomas, a Scotsman. He lived in the diocese eighteen years, and is buried in Scone in Scotland. He died, however, on the 20th day of September, A.D. 1348. He was the first to exact twenty soldos from the churches of Man under the name of charges, as well as the tithes from all the foreigners engaged in fishing, from the rectors of the island, taxed for first-fruits.

"In A.D. 1348, William Russell, by nation a Manxman, Abbot of St Mary's Monastery at Russin, was elected by the clergy of the Isle of Man to the pastorate of the church of Sodor in the Cathedral Church of Saint German in Man in Holm, and was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Clement VI., and was the first bishop-elect of the church of Sodor who was consecrated and confirmed by the Apostolic See, for all his predecessors had been customarily confirmed and consecrated by the Metropolitan Archbishop of Nidarös. He also died on the 21st day of the month of April 1374, at Ramsheved [Ramsey(?)], and is buried in the monastery of Saint Mary, at Furness. Indeed he was Abbot of Russin eighteen years, and lived twenty-six as Bishop of Sodor.

"On the day before the month of June, a Thursday, and the festival of Corpus Christi, A.D. 1374, John Donkan, a Manxman, was elected to the church and bishopric of Sodor by the clergy; and

on the following festival of St Leonard was confirmed at Avignon by Pope Gregory XI., while on the following festival of St Catharine at the Friars Preachers [monastery there] was, along with other eight bishops, solemnly consecrated by the Cardinal of Præneste, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury. On the festival of the Conversion of St Paul, A.D. 1376, and in the third year of his consecration, he was solemnly installed in his own cathedral church aforesaid, and on that day, at his first pontifical mass, was presented with the handsomest offerings, for meantime he had been taken at Boulogne in Picardy, cast into prison and into shackles, but afterwards redeemed for 500 merks. . . .”



APPENDIX.

I.—THE ISLES OF CUMBRAE.

A DETAILED account of the Cumbraes, Great and Little, does not lie within the scope of this work, although through their very close proximity to Bute they were associated with the latter isle in nearly all events of historical importance. As has already been alluded to (p. 31), the name Cumbrae reveals a connection with the Brythonic family of Cumbri, *fellow-countrymen*, who were in prehistoric times located in Strathclyde.

The Rev. W. Lytteil, in a very interesting 'Guide-Book to the Cumbraes,'¹ says: "It may here, however, be stated that the name of Cumbrae, or 'The Cimbraes' [Kim'raes], has evidently its true origin in the Kimmora or Keil-Maura, a compound name which signifies the Church of Maura." I prefer the reference to the Cumbri.

There remain but few memorials of the important part these isles played in the heroic past. There are a few prehistoric graves, the remains of forts and of a vitrified edifice, the traces of early ecclesiastical buildings, and the fragments of several antique crosses and grave-slabs. Attenuated traditions regarding the Norse invasion of Haco flit around the supposed graves of the heroes of Largs, at Toumantenn.

¹ Carlisle, 1886, p. 8.

FORTS.

Bel-craig is situated on the west side of the Great Cumbrae (Lytteil, p. 25).

"*Kennara Brough, or The Lorne*" (Lytteil, pp. 5, 16, 33, 121), now removed, was situated on the most southerly point of the Great Cumbrae.

Douncraig, situated "behind the ferry house opposite to the west end of Largs, has been a vitrified structure." See 'Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society,' Part I, pp. 236-238 (Glasgow, 1868), for article "On the Remains of a Vitrified Fort, or site, in the Island of Cumbrae, &c.," by Wm. Keddie, Esq.

On Little Cumbrae: *Millar-fort* (Lytteil, p. 131), irregular enclosure. *The Castle* (Lytteil, p. 132).

MONOLITHS.

The *Leaddy*, near Toumantenn.

Gouklan standing stone, 7 feet high (Lytteil, p. 106).

Braighagh (removed).

The *Bel Stane* on Little Cumbrae, with cup cut on face (Lytteil, p. 128).

PREHISTORIC GRAVES, ETC.

Tumulus at *Portry* ("Nouyorrach," Lytteil, pp. 22, 23), opened 24th September 1869, covered four cists formed of red sandstone slabs. No. 1 contained small urn and burned bones; No. 2 contained large urn and burned bones; No. 3 contained unburned bones; No. 4 contained small piece of urn. See 'Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society,' vol. ii., part ii., pp. 114-120, for paper read by John MacGown, Esq., M.D., Millport, on "Ancient Sepulture in Cumbrae."

Fintry Bay, tumulus, opened August 1873, covered three cists, with no urns nor fragments of bones (*ibid.*, p. 115).

Toumantenn, two cairns, opened 12th September 1878. No. 1 contained cist, urn, burned bones; No. 2 contained cist and urn, also five large urns, flint arrowhead, burned bones. This latter grave is locally supposed to contain the remains of Haco's men.

Santa Vey, two cists, rifled.

Magga-clagh or *Sheannawally*, cairns, opened 1813 (Lytteil,

p. 131) Contained two swords, hauberk of scale armour, iron helm ; below these a cist, with urn, dust, and six teeth.

The *Garrison*, cairns with cists, removed before 1807 (Lytteil, p. 57).

Trahoun, stone coffin and cross (Lytteil, pp. 41, 77).

ECCLESIASTICAL REMAINS.

Kilranny, near Ringan's Port, supposed site of church dedicated to St Ninian.

Kirktown, site of church dedicated to St Columba.

Santa Vey, on Little Cumbrae, a chapel said to be dedicated to St Bey, has been a rectangular building 42 feet long by 20 feet broad externally. The foundations alone are visible. (Lytteil, p. 124.) Near this building are the foundations of a small circular building, enclosing a space 6 feet in diameter. The wall is 3 feet 9 inches thick.

MEMORIAL CROSSES AND GRAVESTONES.

1. *Trahoun Cross*, found on Trahoun in 1823, was apparently a high cross (Lytteil, pp. 41, 74). The head of the cross, composed of white sandstone, is now appreciatively preserved within the Cathedral Church in Millport. There are some indications of its surface having been carved with a checkered or interlaced pattern. It measures $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 19 inches broad.

2. In the Cathedral is also preserved a very prettily executed memorial-stone or cross, with a circular head 11 inches diameter, shaft 14 inches long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ thick (Lytteil, p. 81). Both sides are incised. The obverse of the circular head contains a star (or cross) of six points ; the reverse a star (or cross) of four points. On the obverse of the shaft a cross of an elaborate type is incised, while on the opposite side circles have been cut.

3. In the same place a small oval water-worn stone, composed of trap, with a cross potent incised on its face, is preserved. It measures about 15 inches by 12 inches diameter (Lytteil, p. 82).

4. On a narrow slab of white sandstone, 18 inches long, $7\frac{1}{4}$ broad, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ thick—also preserved here—are traces of interlaced or checkered ornamentation.

At Millburn House, the residence of the Rev. A. Walker, are

carefully preserved several memorial-stones formerly removed from the ancient graveyard of Columba's Church, Cumbræ (Lytteil, p. 84).

5. On the face of a white sandstone, 20 inches in height and 13 inches broad, within a circular head 9 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$, a Greek cross with four oval holes between the arms is cut.

6. The circular head of a memorial-stone $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $9\frac{1}{2}$ broad, bears in relief on the white sandstone a well-executed cross.

7. A pear-shaped whinstone, 17 inches high, and 11 broad over the top, has a Greek cross incised upon it.

8. What seems to have been the shaft of a cross or a support of a table, 30 inches high, 13 inches broad, and 8 inches thick, is cut on one face with a parallel bar pattern and a row of beads.

9. On a freestone slab, 3 feet 6 inches long and $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, is engraved a sword, or St James's cross, resting upon an intertwined ornament.

10. On a similar slab, 2 feet 9 inches long and 11 inches broad, is engraved a sword resting on a pentagonal ornament.

II.—CHARTER DISPONING THE CHURCH OF KINGARTH TO PAISLEY. See p. 175.

*Confirmatio de Fultone et Donatio Ecclesiæ et Capellarum de Bote per Cartam Alani Filii Walteri Fundatoris.*¹

Sciant presentes et futuri, quod ego Alanus Filius Walteri, dapifer Regis Scotiæ, concedo et hac mea carta confirmo domui mei de Passelet et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus et in perpetuum servituris, donationem illam quam Henricus de Sancto Martino eis fecit per concilium meum et voluntatem, et consensu Gilberti filii sui et heredis, de tota terra suæ inter Kert et Grif, in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam eis semper habenda, ita plene et integre, sicut idem Henricus dictam terram plenius et integrius tenuit vel

¹ 'Registrum Monasterii de Passelet,' p. 15. Edin., 1832. Mait. Club.

tenere debuit ex dono Walteri filii Alani patris mei. Preterea ego ipse pro anima regis David et pro anima regis Macolmi et pro anima patris mei Walteri et matris mei Eschene, et pro salute domini nostri Wilelmi regis Scotiæ et heredum suorum, et pro salute meiipsius et heredum meorum, dono, concedo et hac mea carta confirmo eidem domui de Passelet, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, ecclesiam de Kengaif in insula de Bote, cum omnibus capellis et tota parochia ejusdem insulæ, et cum tota terra quam Sanctus Blanissicum dicitur [Sanctus Blanus per sicum, ut dicitur?] olim cinxit a mare usque ad mare, per metas certas et apparentes, ita libere et quiete sicut aliqua ecclesia in toto regno Scotiæ tenetur liberius et quietius. Hiis testibus, Waltero de Costentin, Nigello fratre ejusdem, Roberto filio Fulberti, Petro fratre ejusdem, Galfrido de Costentin, Roberto Croc, Rolando de Mernis, Rogero de Nes, Macolmo Lockart, et multis aliis.

III.—EXTRACTS FROM THE 'DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND, CALLED HYBRIDES. BY MR DONALD MUNRO, HIGH DEAN OF THE ISLES, WHO TRAVELLED THROUGH THE MOST OF THEM IN THE YEAR 1594.' 'Miscellanea Scotica,' vol. ii. p. 115. Glasgow, 1818.

ARRAN.—Be north or northeist fra this ile (viz., Ailsa) twenty-four myles of sea, lies Arran, ane grate ile, full of grate montains and forrests, good for hunting, with pairt of woods, extending in lengthe from the Kyle of Arran to Castle Dounan, southwart to twenty-four myles, and from the Kyle of Drumdouin to the ness of Kilbride, sixteen myles of breadthe, inhabit onlie at the sea coasts. Herein are thre castils: ane callit Braizay, pertening to the Earle of Arran; ane uther auld house callit the castil at the heid of Lochrenasay, pertyning likeways to the said Earle; and the third callit castle Dounan, pertaining to ane of the Stuarts of Butes blood, callit Mr James; he and his bluid are the best men in that countrey. In Arran is a loche callit Lochrenasay, with three or four small waters;

two paroch kirks ; the ane callit Kilbride, the uther callit Kylesmure. Forment this ile layes the coste of Kyle, in the east and southeist, be ten or twelve myles of sea in the north, Bute ; be eight myles of sea in the west, Skibness, pertaining to the Earle of Argyle.

FLADA-MOLASS.—Upone the shore of this iyle lyes Flada, ane little iyle full of cunnigs, with ane uther little ile callit the yle of Molass, quherin there was foundit by Johne, Lord of the Iles, ane monastery of friars, which is decayit.

BUITT.—The yle of Buitt lyes, as we have said before, eight myles of sea to the northeist of Arran, ane mayne iyle, eight myle lange from the north to southe, and four myle braid fra the west to the eist, very fertyle ground, namelie for aitts, with twa strengthes ; the ane is the round castle of Buitt, callit Rosay of the auld, and Borrowstone about it callit Buitt. Before the town and castle is ane bay of sea, quhilk is a gude heavin for ships to ly upon ankers. That uther castle is callit the castle of Kames, quhilk Kames in Erishe is, alsmeikle as to say, in English the bay castle. In this ile ther is twa paroch kirks, that ane southe callit the Kirk of Bride, the uther northe in the Borrowstone of Buitt, with twa chappells, ane of them above the town of Buitt, the uther under the forsaid castle of Kames. On the north and northwest of this ile, be half myle of sea, lyes the coast of Ergyle ; on the east syde of it the coast of Cuninghame, be six myle of sea.

INCHE MERNOCHE.—On the west southwest of it lyes ane little iyle callit Inch Mernocke, twa myle fra sea, low mayne ground, weill inhabit and manurit, ane myle lange and half myle breadthe.

CUMBRA.—On the eist and southeist lyes ane yle callit Cumbray, inhabit and manurit, three myle in length, and ane myle in breadthe, with ane kirk callit Sanct Colmis Kirke.

CUMBRA DAIS.—Besides this lyes ane iyle callit Cumbray of the Dais, because there is many Dayis intill it.

IV.—EXTRACTS FROM ‘A DESCRIPTION OF THE
WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND. BY M. MARTIN,
GENT.’ London, 1703, pp. 214-216.

Boor.—The isle of Boor, being ten miles in length, lies on the *west side* of Cowal, from which it is separated by a narrow channel, in several parts not a mile broad. The north end of this isle is mountainous and heathy, being more designed for pasturage than cultivation; the mold is brown or black, and in some parts clayie; the ground yields a good produce of oats, barley, and pease; there is but little wood growing there, yet there is a coppice at the side of Loch Fad. The ground is arable from the middle to the southward, the Hectic stone is to be had in many parts of this isle; and there is a quarry of red stone near the town of Rosa, by which the fort there and the chappel on its north side have been built. Rothsay, the head town of the shire of *Boor* and *Aran*, lies on the east coast of Boote, and is one of the titles of the Prince of Scotland. King Robert the Third created his son Duke of Rothesay, and Steward of Scotland; and afterwards Queen Mary created the Lord Darnley Duke of Rothesay, before her marriage with him. This town is a very ancient royal burgh, but thinly peopled, there not being above a hundred families in it, and they have no foreign trade. On the north side of Rothsay there is a very ancient ruinous fort, round in form, having a thick wall, and about three stories high, and passages round within the wall; it is surrounded with a wet ditch; it has a gate on the south, and a double gate on the east, and a bastion on each side the gate, and without these there's a drawbridge, and the sea flows within forty yards of it. The fort is large enough for exercising a battallion of men; it has a chappel, and several little houses within; and a large house of four stories high, fronting the eastern gate. The people here have a tradition, that this fort was built by King Rosa, who is said to have come to this isle before King Fergus the First. The other forts are Down-Owle and Down-Allin, both on the west side.

The churches here are as follow:—Kilmichel, Kilblain, and Kilchattan, in the South Parish; and Lady Kirk, in Rothesay, is the most northerly parish. All the inhabitants are Protestants.

The natives here are not troubled with any epidemical disease. The small pox visits them commonly once every sixth or seventh year. The oldest man now living in this isle is one Fleming, a weaver in Rothsay—his neighbours told me that he could never ease nature at sea—who is 90 years of age. The inhabitants generally speak the English and Irish tongue, and wear the same habit with those of the other islands. They are very industrious fishers, especially for herring, for which use they are furnished with about 80 large boats. The tenants pay their rents with the profit of herrings. They are to be had anywhere on the western coast.

The principal heritors here are the Stuart of Boot, who is hereditary Sheriff of this shire, and hath his seat in Rosa; Ballantine of Keams, whose seat is at the head of the bay of that name, and has an orchard by it; Stuart of Escoick, whose seat has a park and orchard, and about a mile to the south of Rothsay. Next lies two isles called CUMBRAY, the greater and the lesser; the former is within a league of Boot. This island has a chappel and a well, which the natives esteem a catholicon for all diseases. This isle is a mile in length, but the other isle is much less in compass. Both isles are the property of Montgomery of Skelmorly.

V.—PLACE-NAMES IN BUTE.

ACHAMORE.—Dr Maclea, "*Achamor*, The great field." Gael., *achadh-mor*, large field.¹

ACHOLTER.—Dr M., "*Achacholtoir*, The ploughshare field." 1670, Auchiltir. Gael., *achadh*, a field; *altair*, *altoir*, an altar. See p. 234.

AIRIDHNANGEATH.—Sheiling of geese. Gael., *airidh*, sheiling; *gèadh*, goose.

AMBRISBEG.—Dr M., "The little trough." 1440, Amriesbeg;

¹ Dr Maclea's derivations of place-names are taken from an appendix supplied to Mr Blain for his 'History of Bute,' and now found in the printed work. To them are here added names omitted, corrections, and the etymons as far as these are discoverable.

- 1506, Almorusbeg. Gael., *amar*, channel, trough; *beag*, little.
- AMBRISMORE.—Dr M., "The great trough." 1506, Almorusmore.
- ARDBEG.—Dr M., "Ard-Bheag, Little height or rising ground." Gael., *àird*, *àrd*, a height, head, promontory.
- ARDMALEISH.—Dr M., "*Ard-Ma-Ghil-Iosa*, The point of Jesus' servant's son." 1400, Ardmaleish; 1561, Ardmoleis. The height of Moleis, Molios (*no lios*, my flame). See p. 195.
- ARDNAGAVE.—The height of danger. Gael., *gàbhudh*, danger.
- ARDNAHOE.—Dr M., "*Ardnahuath*, The height above the cow [cave?]." 1440, Ardnahow; 1506, Ardnehow. Gael., *Aird*, a height or promontory; *uamh*, cave.
- ARDNLOT.—Dr M., "The fail shillin houses." Gael., *lot*, a wound. The height of the wound.
- ARDROSCADALE.—Dr M., "*Ardroscadale*, Rich or fertile height of the point." 1475, Ardrossigelle. This strange compound may be made up of words from the Goidelic, Brythonic, and Norse languages. *Ard*, Gael., height; *ros*, Gael., promontory, or *Rosca*, Norse proper name; *dale*, Norse, a little dale, or *dal*, Brythonic, a meeting-place; or *gelle*, corrupt form of Norse *gill*, a defile or glen. On the ridge of Ardroscadale a circular fort is to be seen. See p. 46.
- ARDSCALPSIE.—Dr M., "*Ardscalasaig*, Height or promontory of the bason." See *Scalpsie*.
- ASCOG.—Dr M., "The cuckoo's retreat." 1503, Ascok. Norse, *askr*, a boat; *haugr*, a mound. The boat-mound.
- AUCHANTIRIE.—Dr M., "*Achaintireadh*, The field of the rising ground." In 1440 written Achanherve; 1449, Achynhervy; 1506, Auchintarve—*i.e.*, the bull's field (Gael., *tarbh*, bull). Gael., *achadh-na-tìre*: *achadh*, field; *tìr*, land.
- AUCHAWILLIG.—Dr M., "*Ach-a-Bhuilg*, The field of the belly or ridge." 1449, Awchylwik; 1506, Auchawolik, field of the womb, blister, or quiver. Might have connection with Bolg—the Firbolg, see p. 26.
- AULTMORE.—"The big burn." Gael., *allt*, a brook; *mor*, great.

BAIDLAND.—The towers. Gael., *baideal*, a tower or pillar.

BAILEAMHUILIN.—The mill-town. Gael., *bail*, *baile*, hamlet, village; *muileann*, mill,

- BALANLAY.—Dr M., "*Baile-Fhionlaidh*, Finlay's town." Gael., *bail*, *baile*, hamlet, village, house.
- BALELONE.—Dr M., "*Baileanlòine*, Town or hamlet of the meadow." Gael., *lòn*, meadow.
- BALICHAIBIL.—Dr M., "Chapeltown, *Baile-a-chaibil*, The town of the chapel."
- BALICURICH.—The champion's homestead. Gael., *baile*, *curaidh*.
- BALIOCHDRACH.—The lower homestead. Gael., *iochdarach*, lower.
- BALIUACHDRACH.—The upper homestead. Gael., *uachdrach*, upper.
- BALLACH NA MUICK.—Dr M., "The sea-pigs' slap." Gael., *bealach*, pass; *muic*, a pig.
- BALLACROIT.—The town of the eminence. Gael., *croit*, a hump, eminence, croft.
- BALLENTUA.—The town of the peasantry. Gael., *tuath*, tenantry, peasantry. This place is near the common lands of Burgh. See p. 34.
- BALLYCAUL.—Dr M., "*Balecaul*, Strengthening ground."
- BALLYCURRY.—Dr M., "*Baile-Churaidh*, The champion's town."
- BALNAKELLY.—Dr M., "*Baile-na-Choille*, The town of the wood." Gael., *coille*, wood.
- BARDARACH.—Dr M., "*Bar-Darach*, The oak top or point." Gael., *barr*, height; *darach*, oak.
- BARLIA.—The grey top. Gael., *bar*, a top; *liath*, grey.
- BARMORE.—Dr M., "*Barmor*, The great top or headland."
- BARNAULD.—Dr M., "*Barnal*, The apple top." 1440, Bernavil; 1449, Bernaull. Gael., *bearn-avil*, the gap of Avil, or *barr-an-uilt*, height of the glen, or *bearn-an-abhail*, gap of the apple-tree. There is a deep wooded dell behind the farm of Barnauld.
- BARONE.—Dr M., "Meikle Barone, *Ban-roin-mhoir*, The woman's great share or division." 1419, Barrone; 1498, Laurone; 1513, Berroun. Gael., *barr sroine*, height with a nose; or a form of the Brythonic word *bryn*, brow, hill; or *Barron*, the hill of Barinthus. See p. 52.
- BEALLACH DERG.—The red pass, or Dearg's (an Ossianic hero) pass. Gael., *bealach*, a defile; *dearg*, red.
- BIRGIDALE-CRIEFF.—1440, Brethadale; 1449, Brigadilknok and Brigadillowin; 1534, Birgadillovyn. Teut., *borg* or *burg*, a

- fortified place ; *dalr*, a dale ; *dael*, a little dale. Gael., *crubha*, shoulder of a hill. Cf. DUNBURGIDALE.
- BIRGIDALE-KNOCK.—Dr M., "The hill covered with brushwood."
- BLARDIVE.—1449, Blardyve. Gael., *blàr*, a plain, battle-field, battle.
- BLARMEIN.—Gael., *blar*, field ; *mein*, ore, vein of metal.
- BOGANY.—Dr M., "*Both-an-Ach*, The hut or cottage field." Gael., *both*, house ; *gaothanach*, windy. The windy house.
- BRANSARE.—Dr M., "*Branser*, The farm with brittle ground." 1440, Bransare ; 1506, Bransier. Perhaps related to *bréan*, stinking. Old Erse, *brén* ; Erse, *bréan* ; Gael., *breun*, stinking, foul, is applied to marshy places. Cf. Breansha, near Tipperary (*i.e.*, *breansach*, a stinking place). Cf. Maxwell's 'Studies in the Topography of Galloway,' p. 95, under Branyea.
- BRECKOCH.—Dr M., "*Tìgha-Breachdaich*, The house of the speckled field." Gael., *breacach*, speckled, brindled, broken.
- BRONOCH.—The sorrow-field. Gael., *bròn*, sorrow ; *achadh*, field.
- BRUACHNACAORACH.—The sheep-ascent. Gael., *bruach*, a bank, short ascent ; *caora*, *caorach*, a sheep.
- BRUCHOG.—Dr M., "*Bruchait*, A pleasant precipice." 1440, Bruchag ; 1509, Brothog. Gael., *bruach*, a brink or hill ; *brothog* is a diminutive of old Gael. *broth*, a ditch. There was a tumulus here, and the word might be compounded of Teut. *borg*, *burg*, or *brugh*, and Teut. *haugr*, a mound. One of the old names of this district was Cuningburgh.
- BULL LOCH.—The hill loch. Ger., *buhil*, hill.
- BULOCHREG.—Dr M., "*Buaile-chreig*, The fold of the rock." Gael., *buaile*, a fold ; *creag*, rock.
- BUTEANLEANAIN.—The meadow-butt. Gael., *lèan*, a meadow.
- BUTTANLOIN.—The marsh-butt. Gael., *lòn*, *lòin*, marsh, meadow.
- BUTT-BLAIR.—Dr M., "The plain butt." Med. Anglo-Latin, *butta*, division, measure of land ; Gael., *blàr*, *blàir*, a plain, a green.
- BUTT-CURRY.—Dr M., "The Champion's butt."
- BUTTDUBH.—The black butt. Gael. *dubh*, black.
- BUTTLINLUCK.—The mouse-butt. Gael., *luch*, a mouse.
- BUTTNACAILLE.—The butt of the wood. Gael., *coille*, wood.
- BUTTNACREIG.—The butt of the crag. Gael., *creag*, rock, crag.
- BUTTNAFLOIRIN.—The butt of the flowerets. Gael., *flùirein*, floweret.

- BUTT-NA-MADDA.—Dr M., "The dog's butt." Gael., *madadh*, dog.
 BUTT-NA-MENNA.—Dr M., "The mess butt." The kid's butt.
 Gael., *meann*, kid.
 BUTT-N'-TUILK.—Dr M., "The wet butt." Gael., *tuil*, *tuilich*, flood, deluge.
- CAOCHAG.—Dr M., "The windy farm." Gael., *caochag*, a mushroom.
- CLACHANUISAGE.—Gael., *clach*, a stone, or *clachan*, a village; *uiseag*, a lark. The village of the lark. Or probably *Usage* is a proper name.
- CLACHCARNIE.—Gael., *clach*, stone, or *cladh*, mound; *càrnach*, adj., rocky. See p. 48.
- CLACHIERAN.—The burial-place of Ciaran. Gael., *cladh*, a mound. The MacIlherans of Kilmorie were buried at this place. See p. 139.
- COILEVAN.—Dr M., "The delightful hollow." See CULEVIN.
- COLMAC.—See p. 116.
- CORLAICH.—The corrie of mud. Gael., *coire*, a cauldron, dell; *salaich*, dirt.
- COVIN HILL.—Covin's Hill. Or Gael., *gobhainn*, the Smith's Hill. See QUIEN.
- CNOC-AN-COIGREAICH.—This is the name of a dismantled fort on the farm of Auchantirie. The word may signify The hill of the strangers. Gael., *cnoc*, a hill; *coigreach*, stranger.
- CNOCNABUCHAILLE.—The hill of the shepherd. Gael., *buachaille*, a cattle-herd.
- CNOC NA FEARN.—The alder-tree hill. Gael., *feàrna*, alder-tree.
- CRAIGAGOUL.—The Crag of Goll. See p. 87.
- CRAIGBIORACH.—Dr M., "*Craig Bhiorach*, The pointed rock."
- CRAIGBUIDSICH.—The witch's crag. Gael., *buidsich*, a witch.
- CRAIGMADDIE.—The wolf's crag. Gael., *madadh*, dog, wolf.
- CRAIGMORE.—Dr M., "*Creag-Mhor*, The great rock."
- CRAIG NA FEARN.—Dr M., "The shallow marsh." Rather, Crag with the alders. Gael., *feàrna*, an alder.
- CRAIGUAIL.—Dr M., "*Creag-a-Ghuail*, The rock of the shoulder." Gael., *uaill*, pride, fame. The rock of fame.
- CRANSLAGLOAN.—See KNESLAGLOAN.
- CRANSLAGMORIE, CRIOSLAGMORY.—See KNESLAGVORY.

CRANSLAGVOURACHTY, CRIOSLAGVOURATHY.—See KNESLAGVOUR-ARTY.

CREAG A CHLAIDH.—The rock of the sword. Gael., *claidheamh*, sword.

CREAG AN LEA.—Dr M., "The grey rock." Gael., *liath*, grey.

CREATRIACH.—A wilderness. Gael., *creatrach*, a wilderness ; *criadhadaireach*, clayey.

CROSSBEG.—The little cross. Gael., *crois*, cross.

CROSSMORE.—The great cross.

CUAGACH or CULLACH.—Dr M., "*Coalachadh*, Lean or narrow field." 1506, Cogach. Gael., *cuagach*, curved.

CULDONAI.—Dr M., "*Cuil-Donais*, The mischief corner." See luck corner. Gael., *cúil*, corner ; *donas*, mischief, bad luck, the devil.

CULEVIN.—The joyful corner. Gael., *cúil*, corner : *aoibhinn*, joyful, pleasant. 1506, Cowleing or Culavin.

CULLAIVE.—Dr M., "The back of the hand." At the back of the water. Gael., *cul*, back ; *abh*, water.

CULNASHAMBREG.—Dr M., "*Cuil-na-Seamrag*, The circular clover hollow." 1440, Cloynsamrag ; 1506, Clonschamerag. Gael., *cluain*, meadow ; *seamrag*, clover. The clover mead or plain.

CUNINGBURGH.—1478, probably a name of Scoulog.

DORNACH. See PORT AN DORNACH.

DRUMACHLOY.—Dr M., "*Drum-a-Chlaidh*, The ridge of the churchyard." Gael., *druim*, back ; *cladh*, a mound, grave, trench.

DRUMCHONEY.—Dr M., "*Drum-a-Chaoineadh*, The lamentation ridges." Gael., *caoineadh*, pres. part. of v. *caoín*, to weep.

DRUMMOR.—The great ridge.

DRUMTRODDEN.—Dr M., "The quarrelsome height." Gael., *druim*, ridge ; *trod*, strife. The ridge of fights.

DUBH LOCH.—Dr M., "*Dubh-loch*, The black loch."

DUNAGOIL.—Dr M., "The foreigner's fort." 1440, Dunvilze ; 1449, Dungule ; 1506, Dunguild ; 1533, Dwngull. Gael., *dun*, a fort ; *gall*, a foreigner. "This word was first applied by the Irish Annalists to the Danes or Scandinavians from their first arrival in the eighth century to the twelfth, when it was transferred to the English."—'O'Don. Suppl.' Or it might signify, The fort of Goll. See pp. 55, 87.

DUNALUNT.—Dr M., “*Dunaluinn*, The beautiful fort or hillock.”
1440, Dunanlunt; 1449, Downanlont; 1498, Dunanland-Makgelmichaul; 1500, Dunallerd. Gael., *dun*, a fort; *aluinn*, fair. See p. 45.

DUNBURGIDALE.—This may be a word composed of three words, each signifying a fort. Gael., *dun*; Norse, *burg*; Brythonic, *ddl* (a folk-mote). See p. 53.

DUNSTRONE.—The dun of the headland. Gael., *sròn*, a nose, headland. See p. 48.

EDENBEG.—Dr M., “*An-Eadain-beag*, The little face or front.” Gael., *éadan*, face.

EDENMOR.—Dr M., “*An Eadain mhor*, The large face or front.”

EENAN HILL.—Eenan might be proper name; corruption of Adamnan. See p. 209.

ESKECHRAGGAN.—Dr M., “*Eascachragain*, The frog wet ditch.”
1440, Ascragan; 1449, Askachragan; 1506, Escragane. Gael., *eas-a-creagain*, waterfall from the little crag; *eas*, waterfall; *creagain*, little crag.

ETTRICK.—Dr M., “*Atrig*, The shallow water.” Gael., *eathar*, boat; Norse, *vík*, a little bay.

FAD, LOCH.—Also called “Long Loiche.” Gael., *fada*, long.

GALLACHAN.—Dr M., “Where tussilage grows.” 1440, Dalachane. Gael. *gall*, stranger; *achadh*, field.

GARACHTY.—Dr M., “*Garbh-thidh*, The rough or rocky end.” 1440, Garach; 1498, “Le Gariteis”; 1506, Garachach; 1510, Garochty. Gael., *garadh*, a copse or den; *gārradh*, garden; *garbh ach tigh*, house of the rough field. See p. 8.

GARTNAKELLY.—Dr M., “*Gart-na-Coille*, Field or enclosure of the wood.”

GLASTROM.—The grey ridge. Gael., *glas*, grey; *druim*, ridge.

GLEANBUIDHE.—Dr M., “*Gleann-buidhe*, The yellow glen.”

GLECHNABAY.—Dr M., “*Gleuc-na-Beithe*, The birch hollow or glen.”
1449, Glacknabechy. *Clach-na-beath*, rock of birches. Gael., *beath*, *beith*, birch-tree.

GLENCALLUM.—Dr M., “Malcolm’s glen.”

GLENCHROMAG.—Dr M., “*Gleanchromaig*, Glen of the little crook

- or hook." Gael., *cròm*, a circle; *aig* or *ag*, a diminutive; or *aig*, Gael. for Teut. *vik*, a bay; hence, Glen of the round bay.
- GLENDUIN.—Dr M., "The steep glen"—Glen of the forts. Gael., *dun* (pl. *duin*), fort.
- GLENMORE.—Dr M., "*Glean Mhor*, The large glen."
- GLENVODIAN.—Modan's glen, or The glen of vows. Gael., *boìd*, pl. *boìdean*, vow, vows. See p. 210.
- GORTANS.—Dr M., "*Goirteain*, The small patches of land." Gael., *goirtein*, a little corn-field.
- GRENACH.—Dr M., "*Greanach*, Shaggy." Gael., *grianach*, adj., sunny, from *grian*, the sun. Cf. Ir. *grianog*, sunny little hill.
- GRINAN MILL.—Dr M., "*Muilean-Ghrianan*, The mill of the sunny place." 1400, Grenan. Gael., *grianan*, a sunny spot.
- KAMES.—Gael., *camus*, a bay. 1475, Camys.
- KELLIELUPE.—1440, Kellielupe; 1445, Kellislowpe; 1449, Kelliloup. Gael., *caol*, *caoile*, narrow; *lùib*, creek, little glen.
- KELSPAKE.—Dr M., "*Kelspag*, The burying point of land." 1506, Kellspokis. Might be *Cill-espuic*, The church of the bishop. It is near St Blaen's church.
- KERRYCROY.—Dr M., "The hard quarter." Gael., *ceithramh*, quarter, division; *cruaidh*, hard. Cf. *cruaidh*, a stone used for an anchor.
- KERRYCRUSACH.—Dr M., "The gaping quarter." 1440, Kerbcreach; 1449, Kervecresach; later, Kerrycroisic. Gael., *crossag*, streaked; *croiseag*, a little cross. Kerrycrusach might thus mean "The district of the little crosses," referring to Crossbeg and Crossmore, places in the immediate vicinity.
- KERRYFEARN.—Dr M., "*Ceathramhfern*, The alder-tree quarter." Gael., *feàrna*, alder-tree. See p. 30.
- KERRYLAMONT.—Dr M., "Lamont's quarter." See p. 33.
- KERRYMEENOCH.—Dr M., "The middle quarter." 1506, Kerymanach, The monks' quarter. Gael., *manach*, a monk; *meadhonach*, intermediate.
- KERRYMORANE.—Moran's quarter, or populous quarter. 1527, Keremorane. Gael., *mòran*, multitude.
- KERRYNEVEN.—1527, Kerenevin, Neven's quarter.
- KERRYTONLIA.—Dr M., "The low grey quarter." Gael., *ceithramh Donuill*, Donald's quarter.

- KIANAGHABHAIN.—Dr M., "Arable spots among rocks." Gael, *ceann abhuinn*, source of two streams.
- KILBLAAN, KILBLAIN.—Blaan's church.
- KILBRIDE.—Dr M., "*Cill-a-Bhrighde*, St Bride's cell."
- KILCHATTAN.—The church of Catan. See p. 137.
- KILDAVANNAN.—Dr M., "*Cill-da-Mhanan*, St Manan's cell." 1466, Kilmavanane. Probably Adamnan's church. See p. 209.
- KILKERAN.—The church of Ciaran. See p. 139.
- KILMACHALMAIG.—Dr M., "*Cill-math-Chalmaig*, The Chapel of St Calmaig." 1475, Kylmacolmoc. See p. 116.
- KILMICHEL.—Dr M., "*Cill-a-Mhicheall*, Michael's Church." See p. 113.
- KILMORIE.—Dr M., "*Cilmhoire Chaibil*, The Virgin Mary's burying-ground, with a chapel." 1449, Kilmore and Killemore. See p. 233.
- KILWHINLICK.—Dr M., "*Cillchumhangleag*, Cell of the narrow flag or stone." 1449, Kilconlick. Gael, *cill cumhain leac*, or *cill chuinn* (Conn) *leac*, cell of the memorial-stone of Conn, or cell of the memorial-stone of Winnin or Finan. There was a Conlaoch, son of Cuchullin, an Ossianic hero. See p. 102.
- KNESLAGLOAN.—Dr M., "*Crioslacheanlaine*, Border of the bog or meadow."
- KNESLAGVORY.—Dr M., "*Crioslachmhoire*, Virgin Mary's limit or border." 1670, Kneslag.
- KNESLAGVOURARTY.—Dr M., "*Crioslach-Mhurachaidh*, Murdoch's border or limit." 1449, Knersa; 1506, Knaslagwerardy.
- KNOCANTIALT.—The burn of the fairy knoll. Gael, *cnoc-an-sith-allt—sith*, a fairy; *allt*, a brook.
- KNOCKANRIOCH.—Dr M., "*Cnocan-Riach*, The grey eminence." Gael, *riabhach*, brindled.
- KNOCK-NA-KANNUB.—Dr M., "The hemp-hill." Gael, *cnoc-na-cainb*, hill on which hemp grows.
- KNOCNALULAIÐHE.—The treasure-hill. Gael, *ulaidh*, treasure.
- LANGILL.—Norse, *gil*, a narrow glen watered by a stream. The lang-gill of Kingarth seems to have been the glen beside Stravannan. The Langill lands were divided into six portions as under:—

- LANGILBUINOC.—Dr M., "*Lanbhuinidh*, The profitable field."
1554, Langilwinnox in Langilwunnan; 1555, Langilbunnage.
- LANGILCHORAD.—Dr M., "A plain fauld." 1664, Langlelorid.
- LANGILLCULCATHLA.—Perhaps for Langil - Kilchattan. 1498,
Langmyllculcathlane; 1506, Langilculr(c)athla.
- LANGILLCULCREITH.—1525, Langilculcluth.
- LANGILLMILGAY.
- LANGILLQUOCHAG. See QUOCHAG.
- LARGIVRECHTAN.—Dr M., "*Largivrechtan*, The rocky declivity."
1440, Largabrachtan. Gael., *learg-a-bhreachdain*, the slope
covered with wheat, or Nechtan's slope.
- LARGIZEAN.—Dr M., "*Largihean*, The Daisy field." 1506, Largil-
yane; 1533, Largayan.
- LEANENTESKEN.—Dr M., "*Leanantshrasfona*, Meadow or plain of
the barren land." Gael., *leana-na-leasgan*, marsh with eels.
- LEANY.—Dr M., "The wet field." Gael., *leana*, always implies a
marshy field.
- LECHTAN.—Dr M., "*Leachdunn*, Rocky steep or hanging ground."
Gael., *leac*, *leachd*, declivity; *dùn*, mount.
- LEINHALL.—Dr M., "*Lean-a-Choill*, The field of the wood."
- LENIHULINE.—Dr M., "*Lean-a-Chuillean*, The field or plain of the
holly. Gael., *cuilionn*, holly.
- LENIMOLACH.—Dr M., "*Leana-mholach*, The rough field." Gael.,
leana molach, mead of rough grass—*i.e.*, abundant.
- LEPINQUHILLIN.—Bed of hollies. 1449, Lapennycale. Gael.,
leaba, bed; *cuilionn*, holly.
- LOCH NA LEICHE.—Leitch's loch—the physician's loch.
- LUBAS.—Dr M., "A small bay." 1440, Lubas; 1449, Lowpas,
Gael., *libb*, a bend; *eas*, a waterfall. The bend or winding of
the cascade.
- MARG-NA-HEGLISH.—The church's portion of land. Gael., *marg*,
portion; *eaglais*, church.
- MEADOWCAP.—The meadow freehold land. Ang.-Sax., *mædu*,
meadow; Scand., *kaup*, land, freehold land.
- MECKNOCH.—Dr M., "*Beachd-chnoc*, The view-hill or hillock."
- MUCLICH.—The pig's stone. Gael., *muic*, pig; *leac*, a flat stone.
- NAHOIRAN.—Dr M., "The sandy field." See TIGHNAHOIRIN.

PENMAUCHRIE (Cumbræ).—Head of the plain. Cym.-Cel., *pen*, hill-top; Gael., *magh*, *machaire*, plain.

PENYCAHIL.—The bald summit. Cym.-Cel., *pen*, *penni*, hill-top; Germ., *kahl*, bald.

PORT AN DORNAICH.—The boxer's port. Or Gael., *dorneag*, stone.

PORT LEITHNE.—The broad port. Gael., *leithne*, broad.

PORT LUCHDACH.—The loading port. Gael., *luchd*, a burden, load.

PORT NA CAILLICH.—The old woman's port. Gael., *cailleach*, an old woman.

PORT NA H'AILLE.—Port of beauty; rocky port. Gael., *aille*, beauty; *ail*, rock.

PRASACK.—Abounding in bushes. Gael., *preasach*, furrowed, abounding in bushes.

QUIEN.—Dr M., "*Cuithean*, A little trench or mound." 1449, Cuvén, later Cowane, Cowan. Gael., *cuithé*, a trench or pit.

QUOCHAG. See CAOCHAG.

REILIGEADHAIN.—Now Rulicheddan. Gael., *réilig*, a grave; *Eadhain*, of Aidan. See p. 163.

REILIGNERGET.—Gael., *réilig-Nerget*, Nerget's grave.

REILIGVOURKIE.—Gael., *réilig-Mhurca*, Murdoch's grave.

RILLEUOIL.—Tim. Pont's map, 1657. Gael., *réilig*, a grave; *mhaoil*, of the promontory.

ROINN CLUMHACH.—The rough headland. Gael., *roinn*, a point; *clùmhach*, rough.

ROSLAND.—Dr M., "The land of the point." Rosland is beside the parish church. Cornish, *ros*, moor, meadow; Bryth., *llan*, church—The church of the meadow. A common phrase in Rothesay is to go up the meadow to church. See p. 31.

RUDHABODACH.—Dr M., "Row, *Rudh*, or *Rudh-Mhodach*, The Bute point."

RUDHA N AMAIR.—The promontory of the channel (*amar*).

SALLAN PORT.—Salt port. Gael., *salann*, salt.

SCALPSIE.—Dr M., "*Scalasaig*, Small bason or bay." Norse, *scalpr*, a small boat or shallop; the termination *ie* or *ay* here is probably a corruption of *bhaig*, *aig*, or *ag*, the Gaelic equivalent for Norse *vik*, a creek or bay. Scalpsay would thus mean the

shallop-bay—the shallow bay of sand being only suited for small craft.

SCARREL.—Dr M., “*Sceir-Gheal*, The white shelvy rock.” 1440, Scarale, The Skarellis; 1506, Starraell.

SCULOG.—Dr M., “*Sculaig*, The natural harbour.” This name may have some connection with the Scoloc lands (*sgòl*, Goidelic, a school), in connection with the Celtic Church. See p. 194.

SHALUNT.—Dr M., “The beautiful wood,” or the woodland. 1449, Schenlont; 1506, Schawland (Tim. Pont, Shalma?). Perhaps Old Eng., *schaw*, *scaga*, Icel., *skógr*, wood; *lont*, corruption of land.

SHANTALLON.—The old hall. Gael., *sean*, old; *talla*, a hall.

SKEOCH WOOD.—The hawthorn wood. Gael., *sgìtheach*, Erse, *sceithiòg*, a hawthorn bush.

STRAAD.—*Tigh-na-sraide*, The street house. Gael., *sraid*, Ang.-Sax., *strad*, Scand., *stræde*, street.

STRAVANNAN.—Dr M., “The smooth-running, white-bottomed rivulet.” 1440, Stramanane. Gael., *srath*, a valley. Manan’s or Magnus’s strath.

STUCK.—Dr M., “*Stuick*, The jut out.” Gael., *stùc*, a little hill jutting out from another, a peak.

TAWNIE.—1440, Cawnoch (Tawnoch?).

TEYNABENNY.—Dr M., “*Tey-na-Beinne*, House of the hill or common.” Gael., *beinn*, mountain.

TEYNFLUICK.—Gael., *tigh-an-phluic*, house of hill; *ploc*, any round mass, or large turf.

TEYNTUDOR.—Dr M., “*Tigh-an-Dudoir*, The trumpeter’s house.” Gael., *dùdair*, trumpeter.

TEYROW.—Dr M., “*Tigh-an-Rudh*, Point-house.”

TIGHACHNOC.—The house of the knoll. Gael., *tigh*, house; *cnoc*, hill.

TIGHAGHAVIL.—Dr M., “*Tigh-a-Ghavi*, The stranger’s house.” Gael., *gabhal*, a fork. The house at the fork.

TIGHANLUINN.—The ale-house. Gael., *leann*, ale.

TIGHGHAOILL.—The house of the foreigner, or of Goll. See DUNAGOIL, CRAIGAGOUL.

TIGHNACRAOIBH.—The house of the tree. Gael., *craobh*, tree.

TIGHNAGOITH.—The windy house. Gael., *gaoth*, wind.

TIGHNAHOIRIN.—The hero's house. Gael., *curaidh*, hero.

TIGHNALIEINE.—Dr M., "*Tighanleannan*, The house on the plain."

Gael., *lèan*, a meadow or swampy plain; *leann*, ale. Hence ale-house.

TOM NA CRICHE.—The knoll of the march. Gael., *tom*, a knoll; *crioch* (*criche*, gen.), a boundary.

TORACHREW.—*Torr a Chruth*. Gael., *tòrr*, hill; *cruth*, a form, figure.

TORANTURACH.—The towery hillock. Gael., *tòrr*, a hill; *tùrach*, having towers.

UAMH CAPUILE.—The chapel cave. Gael., *uamh*, cave; *caibeal*, chapel.

UAMH PHADRAICH.—Patrick's cave.

UCHDIES.—The steep place. Gael., *uchdach*, ascent.

ERRATA.

Page 73, line 5, *for* "all," *read* "each of."

" " " 6, " "cover," *read* "covers."

" 78, " 10, " "implies," *read* "imagines."

" 134, " 16, " "M'Phee," *read* "M'Fie."

" 158, " 18, " "505," *read* "565."

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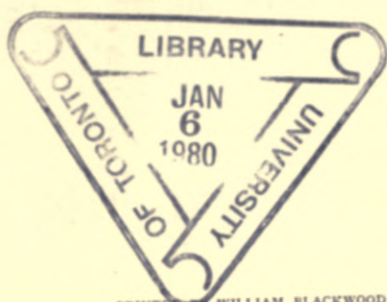
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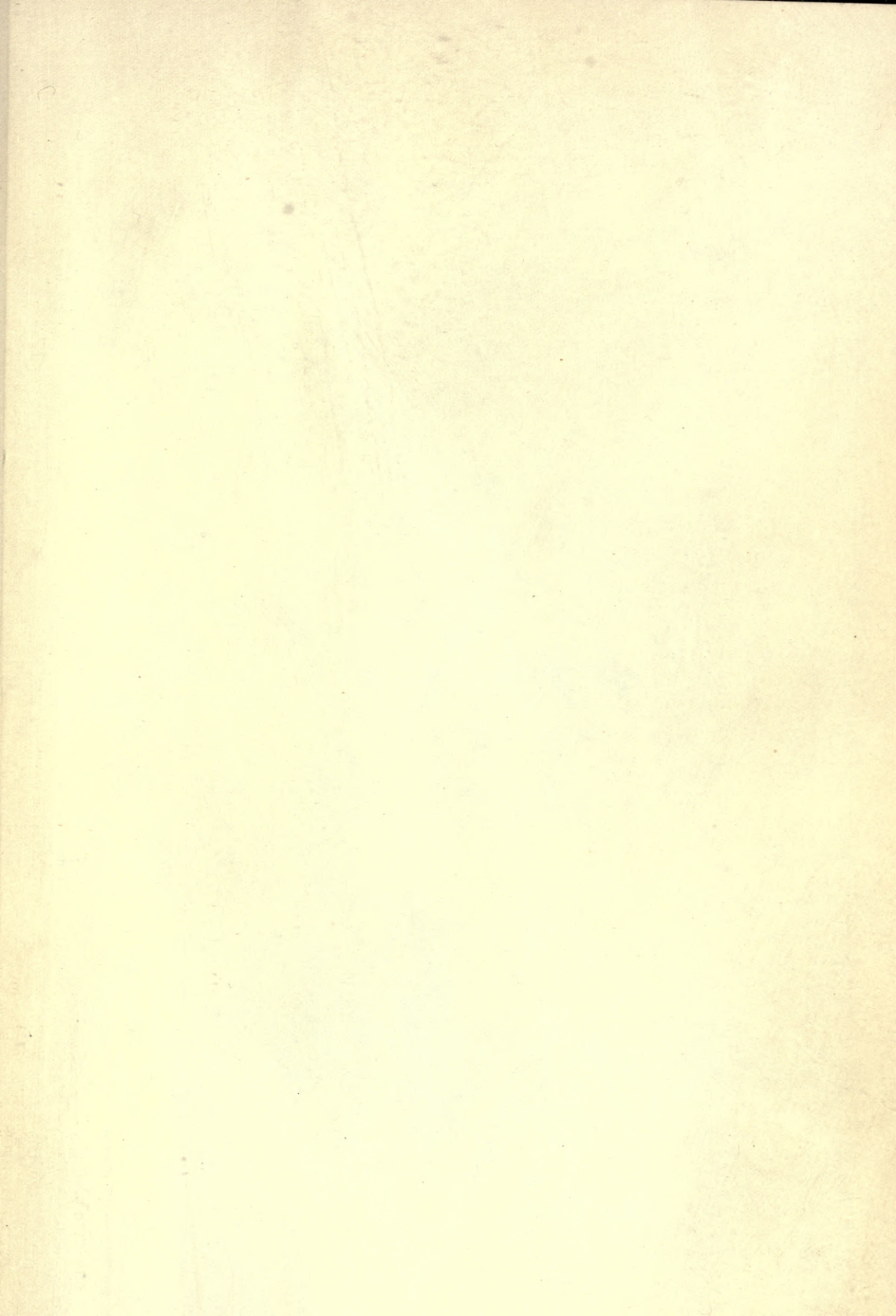
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